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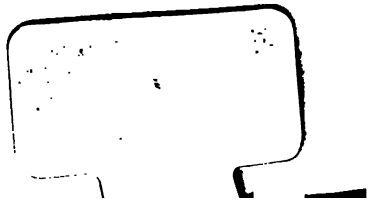

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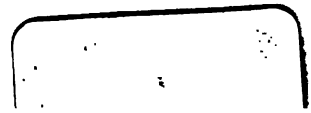

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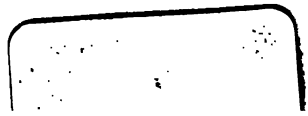

MR. MACAULAY'S

CHARACTER OF THE CLERGY

IN THE LATTER PART OF THE

SEVENTEENTH CENTURY,

CONSIDERED.

WITH AN APPENDIX ON HIS CHARACTER OF THE GENTRY, AS GIVEN IN HIS HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

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ADDENDA AND CORRIGENDA.

Page 2. For the pluralists and their curates see Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, vol. II. pp. 335, 336; and especially Prideaux's *Draught of a Bill prepared to have been offered to the Parliament in the reign of King William and Queen Mary*, A.D. 1691, *with Reasons for the said Bill*, Norwich, 1710.

Page 18, *for* Slemham *read* Glemham; and add, Sir Charles Leventhorp, Bart., and Dr. Hall, who was probably a Baronet, were in orders: the Rev. Dr. Gordon too was of noble family; and the Rev. N. Monk was son of Sir Thomas and brother of General Monk.—(*Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*).

Page 49, add, the Rev. Dr. Stanley married Mary, second daughter of Sir F. Pemberton, Lord Chief Justice of Common Pleas and King's Bench.

INTRODUCTION.

THE object of the following pages is to enter upon such an examination of one portion of Mr. Macaulay's *History of England*, as may enable any person to form some kind of notion as to his general accuracy and merits as an historian.

Mr. Macaulay's work has been read with great interest; and no wonder, for a more attractive book was never written. But if in the midst of its merits, mistakes or exaggerated statements abound, he does a service to the public who puts them on their guard against believing as a matter of course the vivid representations of that entertaining writer.

I have therefore in the following pages considered Mr. Macaulay's account of the social condition of the Clergy about the time of the accession of James the Second, and have tried to take a purely historical view of it.

SECTION I.

SURVEY OF MR. MACAULAY'S PRINCIPAL AUTHORITIES.

BEFORE entering on a specific examination of the several features of the Clergyman's portrait in the latter part of the 17th century, as drawn by Mr. Macaulay, let us take a preliminary survey of the sources from which it is professedly drawn. We say *professedly*, for in the course of our inquiry the *real* original of the picture will be revealed.

The principal authorities to which he refers in vindication of his statements, are Eachard, Oldham, and Wood; others which he cites or alludes to, are either irrelevant or comparatively unimportant, or do not belong to the period of which he is treating, being in some cases very widely removed from it.

Let us then briefly consider the value of these testimonies by which his account is not indeed borne out (as shall be shewn in the proper place), but which more or less substantiate some of its particulars. The first authority in point of time is Eachard: he was Master of St. Catharine's Hall in the University of Cambridge, and in the year 1670 published an anonymous tract, entitled "The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion inquired into. In a Letter written to R. L." His work became excessively popular, and in the year 1685 had reached the ninth edition. The object of his work appears to have been in the main good: he no doubt wished that the information and the incomes of the inferior clergy should be augmented. Want of learning and want of money he

makes two of the principal (though by no means the only) causes which had brought the clergy into contempt. These causes were probably much less predominant than several others to which attention is drawn by numerous writers of the period. The licentiousness, the deism, the latitudinarianism, the popery, the puritanism, the erastianism of the age were unquestionably *among* the causes which contributed to the result, several of which are dwelt upon strongly, not only in divers anonymous pamphlets, but also by Dr. South in various sermons, one of which is expressly dedicated to the consideration of the unjust contempt into which the ministry had fallen. The Clergy themselves too did not, of course, entirely escape the general corruption of the period. More especially, the ill lives and conversations of many pluralists and their curates gave cause for scandal to the Church; although the conduct of the majority of the Clergy was probably exemplary. Difficult it undoubtedly is to form a decided opinion on all these points with satisfaction, because in the writers of the time there is some conflicting testimony.

To return however to Eachard. His whole book from beginning to end is a series of jocose caricatures.* He burlesques unmercifully the sermons of sundry injudicious and ignorant clergymen, and draws the most facetious picture of the extremities to which others were reduced by poverty: and he has done it in such a manner that he was perhaps

* The following specimen from one of his replies to an opponent, where he is not speaking of the Clergy, will give a notion of his style, and shew that he must not be always too implicitly believed:

"And to conclude this, sir, I cannot forget him, who having at some time or other been suddenly cured of a little headache with a rosemary posset, would scarce drink out of anything but rosemary cans, cut his meat with a rosemary knife, and pick his teeth with a rosemary sprig: nay, sir, he was so strangely taken up with the excellencies of rosemary, that he would needs have the bible cleared of all other herbs, and only rosemary to be inserted."—*Some Observations on the Answer to an Enquiry into the Grounds, &c.* p. 88, Lond. 1685, (5th edition).

not very unnaturally supposed to have meant his descriptions for the Clergy generally, and to have made up his book for the express purpose of bringing them into contempt.* So far from being a just picture of the Clergy of the time taken as a whole, it is in respect of their ignorance false, and in respect of their poverty much exaggerated, insomuch that he himself falls foul on his reviewers, and ridicules their stupidity for misunderstanding his meaning and applying his description generally to the Clergy which he intended only for a few or some. An instance or two of this jeering manner of reply will be found in our section on the Clergyman's library and attainments. So careless too was he whence the materials for producing his ludicrous effect were derived, that he scraped together some of the fooleries of the fanatical preachers of the day and charged them upon the Clergy of the Church.† However (as we shall see anon) both Eachard and his opponents agree perfectly in several very material points respecting the extraction, the marriage, the attainments, and the intercourse of the Clergyman in society, in points in which Mr. Macaulay's description differs from them. The only charitable supposition therefore that can be made, is that Mr. Macaulay had read Eachard's original work carelessly, and was entirely ignorant of his reviewers and of Eachard's rejoinders.

The next witness on Mr. Macaulay's list is Oldham. Except that he somewhat generalizes certain observations of Eachard, and applies them to persons in a higher con-

* "The pretence of your book was to *show* the occasions; your book is *become* an occasion of the contempt of God's ministers."—*Oley's Preface to Herbert's Country Parson.*—The following is scarcely an unmerited sarcasm. "To close up all in a syllable, there is [in Eachard's *Grounds, &c.*] a pretty fardle of tales bundled together, and they have had the hap to fall into such hands as had rather lose a friend, not to say their country, than a jest."—*Preface to a Vindication of the Clergy. Facit indignatio.* Lond. 1672.

† Oley's Preface to Herbert's *Country Parson.*

dition, he gives little information beyond that which may be collected from Eachard.

It is sufficiently probable that Oldham's description is taken from Eachard (as he is a writer extremely prone to imitation); but whether this be so or not, I am principally concerned to remark that his testimony to anything which makes against the Clergy is to be regarded with great suspicion. His poetry is described in the *Athenæ Oxonienses* as "mad, ranting, and debauched." The following passages in his papers will shew from his own wretched despair, that he was while in health and strength an atheist.

A Sunday thought in Sickness.

"There is, there is a hell, and damned fiends, and a never-dying worm, and that sceptic that doubts of it may find 'em all within my single breast. I dare not ANY LONGER, with the atheist disbelieve them, or think 'em the Clergy's bugbears invented as nurses do frightful names for their children to scare 'em into quietness and obedience."—(*Posthumous*) *Remains of Oldham* (1710), p. 33.

Again:—

"How have I abused and misemployed those parts and talents which might have rendered me serviceable to mankind and repaid an interest of glory to their donor! How ill do they turn to account what I have made the patrons of debauchery and pimps and panders to vice!"—*Ibid.* p. 36.

Such is his character of himself. Can such a man's testimony be worth much attention when it tells against the Clergy?

The remaining testimony which I shall now examine is that of T. Wood, which Mr. Macaulay deems so important that he has printed the Latin at length. This is so much the more fortunate, as it is the only one of his authorities to which I have not access. It runs as follows:

"A causidico, medicastro, ipsaque artificum farragine, ecclesiæ rector aut vicarius contemnitur et fit ludibrio. Gentis et familiæ nitor sacris ordinibus pollutus censetur: fœminisque natalitio insignibus unicum inculcatur sæpius præceptum, ne modestiæ naufragium faciant, aut, (quod idem auribus tam delicatulis sonat) ne clerico se nuptas dari patiantur."—*Angliæ Notitia, by T. Wood of New College, Oxford,* 1686.

On this passage Mr. Macaulay, for the benefit of his English readers, observes:

"An Oxonian, writing a few months after the death of Charles the Second, *complained bitterly,* not only that the country attorney and the country apothecary looked down with disdain on the country clergyman, but that one of the lessons most earnestly inculated on every girl of honourable family was to give no encouragement to a lover in orders, and that, if any young lady forgot this precept, she was almost as much disgraced as by an illicit amour."—*Macaulay's History of England,* vol. i. pp. 328–9.

As I have not the context to consult, it is necessary to speak with becoming caution. In the extract itself there is certainly no complaint directly expressed, nor should I have inferred that any was implied: and if there be any bitterness, the general complexion of the Latinity would rather have led me to suspect that it was the bitterness, not of complaint, but of contempt.

Now it appears by the Oxford *List of Graduates* and by the *Athenæ Oxonienses,* that there is only one T. Wood of New College at all, near the time. In the latter work I find the book noticed which Mr. Macaulay has cited; and also that this T. Wood translated certain *Odes of Anacreon* in the manner of Oldham; and from the same book, that Oldham's Remains are ushered into the world by a commendatory Poem by T. Wood of New College. He therein calls

> "Oldham, the man that could with justice write;
> Our Oxford's glory, and the world's delight."

Suspicions begin to arise. Another sample is—

" Let dull divinity no more delight,
It spoils the man and makes a hypocrite;
The chief professors to preferment fly,
By cringe and scrape, the basest simony.
The humble clown will best the Gospel teach,
And inspired ignorance sounder doctrines preach.
A WAY TO HEAVEN MERE NATURE WELL DOES SHEW,
Which reasoning and disputes can never know."

Oxon. May 26, 1684.

We have now some ground to suppose that the " bitter complaint" which Mr. Macaulay put into T. Wood's mouth was hardly borne out by the context, but was introduced by himself for the sake of effect.

Since then we are referred to infidel writers for our views on the state of the Clergy, and of course even their sentiments are not to be entirely neglected (though they ought not to be dressed in other men's coats), there can be no just reason why their friends may not be heard also.

Dr. South, who really does " bitterly complain" of the contempt which the Clergy had fallen into writes thus:

" Read but the practice of Christian emperors and kings all along, down from the time of Constantine, in what respect, honour, and splendour they held the ministers; and then let our adversaries [the Puritans] produce their puny, pitiful arguments against the general, clear, undoubted vogue and current of all antiquity. As for two or three little countries about us, the learned and impartial will not value their practice; in one of which places the minister has been seen, for mere want, to mend shoes on the Saturday, and been heard to preach on the Sunday. In the other place, stating the several orders of the citizens, they place their ministers after their apothecaries; *i.e.* the physician of the soul after the drugster of the body: a fit practice for those, who, if they were to rank things as well as persons, would place their religion after their trade."—*South's Sermons*, vol. I. p. 66. Lond. 1843.

Again:

"We may take notice of two usual grounds of contempt men cast upon the Clergy, and yet for which no man ought to think himself at all the more worthy to be contemned. The first is their very profession itself; concerning which it is a sad, but an experimented truth, that the names derived from it, in the refined language of the present age, are made but the appellatives of scorn.....But call a man priest or parson, and you set him, in some men's esteem, ten degrees below his own servant. But let us not be discouraged or displeased, either with ourselves or our profession, upon this account. Let the virtuosos mock, insult, and despise on: yet after all they shall never be able to droll away the nature of things; to trample a pearl into a pebble, nor to make sacred things contemptible, any more than themselves, by such speeches, honourable.—*Ibid.* p. 84.

He concludes by a general praise of the Clergy:

"And thus I have shewn four several causes [viz. ignorance, viciousness, mean compliances, and proneness to despise others] that may justly render any ruler despised; and by the same work, I hope, have made it evident how little cause men have to despise the rulers of our Church.....That which makes the Clergy glorious, is to be knowing in their profession, unspotted in their lives, active and laborious in their charges, bold and resolute in opposing seducers, and daring to look vice in the face, though never so potent and illustrious; and lastly, to be gentle, courteous, and compassionate to all."—*Ibid.* pp. 87. 88.

South, however, expresses himself on most subjects not very impartially. Let us therefore take the judgment of other churchmen also, of Evelyn for example, himself no clergyman:

"1683. July 15 [London]. A stranger and old man preached on Jerem. vi. 8, the not hearkening to instruction, portentous of desolation to a people: much after Bp. Andrewes' method, full of logical divisions, in short and broken periods and latin sentences; now quite out of fashion in the pulpit which is grown into a far more profitable way, of plain and practical discourses, of which

sort this nation or any other never had greater plenty or more profitable (I am confident): so much has it to answer for thriving no better on it."—*Evelyn's Diary*, vol. iii. p. 90, Lond. 1827.

Proceed we next to Prebendary Dixon (A.D. 1676):

"These high and magisterial dictates imposed [by the Church of Rome, &c.] upon the pain of damnation, together with the intolerable pride, avarice, and luxury of churchmen, open the mouths of the adversary to cry down the Clergy for cheats and robbers of the souls, honours, and estates of mankind; cause them to question all truths, and fall into direct atheism and profaneness. Yet am I not without powerful hopes, and do already see and wonder at the wise and gracious providence of God in stirring up the spirits of rare men, to baffle the carnal fallacies and superstitious riddles that have bewitched the age, and advance the power of godliness and pure worship with obedience to princes;—never purer wits since the world stood; NEVER BRAVER CLERGY since the world stood; never holier souls since the world stood; never baser spirits since the world stood. As for this dross of the age, the ranters and atheists, they will die and be damned like base fellows as they are: they will soon be kicked off the stage, and drove out of the hives, as useless and hurtful in Church and State, the very shame of mankind."—*Dixon's* (*Prebendary of Rochester*) *Nature of two Testaments*, vol. ii pp. 619, 620. *Lond.* 1676.

The opinion of the learned and excellent Kettlewell may follow those that have preceded it. The testimony belongs to the reign of James II.

"As for our Mr. Kettlewell in particular, notwithstanding that he was no enemy to that which might seem to him good and laudable in any Christian Communion, there can be no greater conviction than that which he gave of a sincere adherence to those principles he professed, and of an uniform practice, under all variety of times and circumstances, with respect to the things of God; not inclining either to one extreme or the other, but with all caution still observing the true mean as much as it was possible: the truth of which, by what follows, will appear more clearly. *The Church of*

England (as he had observed) *was never known to be in a more flourishing condition than at this time,* all things duly weighed: it became much more powerful (he saw) by the opposition made against it, and grew by the favours indulged to its adversaries; the number of converts made in the reign of this king to his religion was most inconsiderable, if it could be said to be any at all. On the other side, for every one that was lost to the established religion, it was thought there were ten at least added to it another way; for certain great numbers of Dissenters were brought into the communion of the Church by the learned writings of the orthodox Clergy at that time; yea, they who had before conceived a prejudice against them, as making too near approaches to Popery, now on the contrary, when they saw them such champions for the Protestant cause, convinced hereby of the mistake, could not but as much commend them, as heretofore they had condemned them: and no wonder if some thought themselves also bound in conscience to return to the Church which they had separated from, the very foundation of their separation from it appearing to be now taken away. Yet these were but few in comparison of the rest. Now the use Mr. Kettlewell made thereof was this, to call both upon his brethren of the Clergy on the one hand, and upon the dissenting brethren on the other, that, without regard to building up themselves, or their party, they should all unite their endeavours to build together upon the foundation of Christ and his Apostles, maintaining the bond of Catholic charity; and should study every one to excel herein for the edifying of the whole body of the faithful. For which he thought there was means remaining sufficient in the Church of England, whether supported or not from without by the civil power. Nay, it was observed, both by him and by others who were in the number of his friends, that as soon as the outward supports began to be withdrawn from it but never so little, upon which it had before but too much leaned; this Church was then beginning to flourish more than it had done ever since the Reformation."—*Life of Kettlewell,* pp. 141–144, *Lond.* 1718.

Looking back upon the Deists and the Clergy, Hughes (early in the following century) a Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, cannot even conceive what consideration has

led the former to despise the latter:

"EGO, ITA ME DEUS AMET, NE CONJECTANDO QUIDEM ASSEQUI POSSUM, QUID SIT IN CLERO ANGLICANO, QUOD ULLO MODO DESPICERE POSSIT IMPROBA HÆC DEISTARUM COLLUVIES. SIVE ENIM INGENIUM, SIVE DOCTRINAM, SIVE MORUM PROBITATEM INTEGRITATEMQUE CONSIDEREMUS, VEL INIMICISSIMI CONCEDANT NECESSE EST, NIHIL ECCLESIÆ ANGLICANÆ THEOLOGIS SUPERIUS UNQUAM EXTITISSE."—*Prefatory Essays to St. Chrysostom's Treatise on the Priesthood*, p. x. Camb. 1710.

SECTION II.

OF THE EXTRACTION OF THE ENGLISH CLERGY IN THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY.

Mr. Macaulay opens the subject of the present section in the following words:

"The place of the clergyman in society had been completely changed by the Reformation. Before that event, ecclesiastics had formed the majority of the House of Lords, had, in wealth and splendour, equalled, and sometimes outshone, the greatest of the temporal barons, and had generally held the highest civil offices. .....Among them were sons of all the most illustrious families, and near kinsmen of the throne, Scroops and Nevilles, Bourchiers, Staffords, and Poles.....Down to the middle of the reign of Henry the Eighth, therefore, no line of life bore so inviting an aspect to ambitious and covetous natures as the priesthood. Then came a violent revolution. The abolition of the monasteries deprived the Church at once of the greater part of her wealth, and of her predominance in the upper house of parliament..... The spiritual character not only ceased to be a qualification for high civil office, but began to be regarded as a disqualification. Those worldly motives, therefore, which had formerly induced so many able, aspiring, and high born youths to assume the ecclesiastical habit, ceased to exist. Not one parish in two hundred then afforded what a man of family considered as a maintenance. There were still indeed prizes in the Church: but they were few; and even the highest were mean, when compared with the glory which had once surrounded the princes of the hierarchy. The state kept by Parker and Grindal seemed beggarly to those who remembered the imperial pomp of Wolsey, his palaces, &c..... Thus the sacerdotal office lost its attraction for the higher classes."
—*Macaulay's History of England*, pp. 325, 326.

It is beside the present purpose to take much notice of the state of the Clergy before Charles II.'s time: yet as it is Mr. Macaulay's object to draw as vivid a picture as possible by contrast, it may be worth while to observe that however rich and noble the great ecclesiastics may have been before the Reformation, yet with regard to the ordinary sort of them, it may reasonably be doubted whether their place in society has been much altered for the worse. The following picture is drawn by a master hand, and one too which is by no means disposed to paint in the blackest colours the character of the English Church before the Reformation.

"Meanwhile, the people were disgusted with this gross and cruel invasion of the rights of their pastors; and the representatives of the monasteries read themselves in amidst reproaches loud and deep, of the by-standers. But they were not thin-skinned. They prepared, however, a sop for Cerberus, by exacting with little rigour the small tithes, or, in some cases, by accepting an easy composition instead of them; hoping, by such *modus* (*decimandi*) to purchase the more cheerful and prompt payment of the great tithes, which was their affair; and not at all uneasy because the propitiation happened to be made at the vicar's expense. Their only remaining concern was to find some "Sir Johns" (as the poor clergy were called before the Reformation), sometimes with an honourable adjunct of "lack-Latin," or "mumble-matins," or "babbling Sir Johns," or "blind Sir Johns," as it might be, who were just qualified, according to the letter of the law, to stand in the gap; masspriests, who could read their breviaries, and no more,—for in those days men seem to have received ordination without any adequate examination either as to learning or character—persons of the lowest of the people, with all the gross habits of the class from which they sprung; loiterers on the ale-house bench; dicers; scarce able to say by rote their Paternoster, often actually unable to repeat the commandments; divines every way fitted to provoke the 75th canon, which was, no doubt, in the first instance, levelled against them. Such were the ministers to whom was consigned a very large proportion of the parishes

of England before the Reformation."—*Blunt's Reformation in England*, pp. 65. 66.

Have we never heard of the Constitutions of Clarendon in Henry II.'s time, which enact that the sons of villeins shall not be ordained without the consent of the lord on whose land they were born, because that it would be to deprive him of his property? Or is it a secret that manumissions of slaves preparatory to their entering orders are to be found as late as the middle of the fifteenth century? Whatever the social condition of the mass of the clergy may have been under the Stuarts, it will be difficult to persuade most people that it was much better before the Reformation.

"During the century which followed the accession of Elizabeth, scarce a single person of noble descent took orders."

Here again appears the colourist: several persons of noble descent who took orders in that period are mentioned in Oley's preface to Herbert's *Country Parson;* and there is no great probability that he has recounted all.

"At the close of the reign of Charles the Second, two sons of peers were bishops; four or five sons of peers were priests and held valuable preferment: but these rare exceptions did not take away the reproach which lay on the body. The clergy were regarded as on the whole a plebeian class; and indeed for one who made the figure of a gentleman, ten were mere menial servants."

It shall be my object to examine this statement, so far as the extraction of the Clergy is concerned. Yet let it be remarked at the outset that in the cases of those clergy who came from the middle classes (who both then were and always have been numerous)* or even from a lower grade,

* The clergymen of the latter part of the seventeenth century whose parentage I have chanced to discover, were descended with few exceptions from the gentry, clergy, and merchants. No doubt those about whom we gain personal information in any period are on the whole of a

of whom there ever have been some, it does not at all follow that they did not make the "figures of gentlemen," merely because their parents were not gentlemen. A man of good education is and always has been very justly reputed a gentleman, whatever may have been his parentage. And indeed so far from being a just subject of *reproach* to the Church of England, that she admits into her priesthood none but men of gentle descent, it is rather her glory (and always has been, before the Reformation as well as since) that the path to honour and distinction has lain open to all who deserve them. What was the extraction of Wolsey, with "his imperial pomp, his palaces, which had become the favorite abodes of royalty, Whitehall and Hampton Court;" with "his three sumptuous tables daily spread in his hall," with "the forty-four gorgeous copes in his chapel, his running footmen in rich liveries, and his body-guard with gilded pole-axes"?* Would the English Church have escaped, or would she rather have incurred reproach, had she excluded from her ministry such a man as Jeremy Taylor, a man to whom all learning, ancient and modern, was familiar, and whose genius was perhaps still greater than his erudition?

As, however, there can be no doubt that it does contribute to the credit of a class to have a fair proportion of men of noble and good family belonging to it, it is worth while to examine the truth of the statement whether or no the clergy were on the whole a plebeian order in the 17th century. "At the close of Charles II.'s reign two sons of peers," it seems, "were bishops; four or five sons of peers were priests."*

better sort than the common mass, whose names and extractions are forgotten. If there were any class of persons who deserved to be called "*low-born*" generally among the English Priesthood, it was the body of curates (in the *modern* sense of the word) who appear to have been much less numerous than at present.

* Macaulay's History of England, vol. i. p. 326.

Again,

"Dr. Henry Compton, Bishop of London, spoke strongly [in 1685] for the motion.....He was one of the few clergymen who could in that age boast of noble blood."—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. ii. pp. 32, 33.

There were, however, more examples of such clergymen in that age than Mr. Macaulay's account would lead us to believe. The following is Chamberlayne's professedly imperfect catalogue in the year 1694:

"Nor is the present age wholly destitute of this honor. Witness the present bishop of London, Dr. Compton, brother to the Earl of Northampton; Dr. Feilding, uncle to the Earl of Denbigh; Dr. Fane, late brother to an Earl of Westmoreland; Mr. Finch, son to the late Earl of Winchelsea; Dr. Montague, uncle to the Earl of Sandwich; Dr. Annesley, uncle to the Earl of Anglesea; Dr. Greenvile, late Dean of Durham, brother to the Earl of Bath; Mr. Berkeley, son to the Earl of Berkeley; Mr. Finch, brother to the Earl of Nottingham; Dr. Booth, brother to the Earl of Warrington; Dr. Crew, Bishop of Durham, son to the late Lord Crew; Dr. Grahame, brother to the Lord Viscount Preston; Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Knight and Baronet, Bishop of Exeter; AND MANY OTHERS, NOW LIVING, OR LATELY DEAD."—*Chamberlayne's State of Britain*, 1694, p. 369.

The enumeration has been made more complete:

"We have evidence (says the *Quarterly Reviewer* of Mr. Macaulay's work) that there were at that time [the age of Bishop Compton] in holy orders at least the following: Dr. Fane, brother of the Earl of Westmoreland; Mr. Finch, son of the Earl of Winchelsea; and another Mr. Finch, brother of the Earl of Nottingham; Dr. Montagu, uncle of the Earl of Sandwich; Dr. Annesley, uncle of the Earl of Anglesey; Dr. Greenvil, brother of the Earl of Bath; Mr. Berkeley, brother of the Earl of Berkeley; Dr. Booth, brother of the Earl of Warrington; Lord Crewe, Bishop of Durham; Dr. Graham, brother of Viscount Preston; Sir Jonathan Trelawney, Bart.; Sir William Dawes, Bart.; Sir George Wheeler; together with sons of Lord Fairfax of Cameron, Lord

nor small. The dissertations on the Greek and Latin drama do not at all help the argument, and, whatever may have been thought of them by the generation which fancied that Christ Church had refuted Bentley, are such as, in the present day, a scholar of very humble pretensions may venture to pronounce boyish, or rather babyish. The censures are not sufficiently discriminating. The authors whom Collier accused had been guilty of such gross sins against decency that he was certain to weaken instead of strengthening his case, by introducing into his charge against them any matter about which there could be the smallest dispute. He was, however, so injudicious as to place among the outrageous offences which he justly arraigned, some things which are really quite innocent, and some slight instances of levity which, though not perhaps strictly correct, could easily be paralleled from the works of writers who had rendered great services to morality and religion. Thus he blames Congreve, the number and gravity of whose real transgressions made it quite unnecessary to tax him with any that were not real, for using the words "martyr" and "inspiration" in a light sense; as if an archbishop might not say that a speech was inspired by claret, or that an alderman was a martyr to the gout. Sometimes, again, Collier does not sufficiently distinguish between the dramatist and the persons of the drama. Thus he blames Vanbrugh for putting into Lord Foppington's mouth some contemptuous expressions respecting the Church service; though it is obvious that Vanbrugh could not better express reverence than by making Lord Foppington express contempt. There is also throughout the Short View too strong a display of professional feeling. Collier is not content with claiming for his order an immunity from indiscriminate scurrility; he will not allow that, in any case, any word or act of a divine can be a proper subject for ridicule. Nor does he confine this benefit of clergy to the ministers of the Established Church. He extends the privilege to [Roman] Catholic priests, and, what in him is more surprising, to Dissenting preachers. This, however, is a mere trifle. Imaums, Brahmins, priests of Jupiter, priests of Baal, are all to be held sacred. Dryden is blamed for making the Mufti in Don Sebastian talk nonsense. Lee is called to a severe account for his incivility to Tiresias. But the most curious passage is that in which Collier resents some uncivil reflections thrown by Cassandra, in Dryden's Cleomenes, on the calf Apis

and his hierophants. The words "grass-eating, foddered god," words which really are much in the style of several passages in the Old Testament, give as much offence to this Christian divine as they could have given to the priests of Memphis.

"But when all deductions have been made, great merit must be allowed to this work. There is hardly any book of that time from which it would be possible to select specimens of writing so excellent and so various. To compare Collier with Pascal would indeed be absurd. Yet we hardly know where, except in the Provincial Letters, we can find mirth so harmoniously and becomingly blended with solemnity as in the Short View. In truth, all the modes of ridicule, from broad fun to polished and antithetical sarcasm, were at Collier's command. On the other hand, he was complete master of the rhetoric of honest indignation. We scarcely know any volume which contains so many bursts of that peculiar eloquence which comes from the heart and goes to the heart. Indeed the spirit of the book is truly heroic. In order fairly to appreciate it, we must remember the situation in which the writer stood. He was under the frown of power. His name was already a mark for the invectives of one half of the writers of the age, when, in the cause of good taste, good sense, and good morals, he gave battle to the other half. Strong as his political prejudices were, he seems on this occasion to have entirely laid them aside. He has forgotten that he is a Jacobite, and remembers only that he is a citizen and a Christian. Some of his sharpest censures are directed against poetry which had been hailed with delight by the Tory party, and had inflicted a deep wound on the Whigs. It is inspiriting to see how gallantly the solitary outlaw advances to attack enemies, formidable separately, and, it might have been thought, irresistible when combined, distributes his swashing blows right and left among Wycherley, Congreve, and Vanbrugh, treads the wretched D'Urfey down in the dirt beneath his feet, and strikes with all his strength full at the towering crest of Dryden."—*Macaulay's Essays*, vol. III. pp. 298—301; or, *Edinburgh Review*, Jan. 1841.

We shall have occasion to recur to this description of Collier's work, which, so far as we are concerned, leaves nothing to be desired.

SECTION III.

ON THE STATE OF SCHOOLS AND UNIVERSITIES.

Our notion of the young Clergyman, as he enters on his professional life, will depend much on our view of his previous preparation at school and in the University. There is a *Treatise of Education with respect to Grammar Schools and the Universities,* by F. Brokesby, Esq., which was published in London in 1710; it may be expected that it will furnish valuable information to those who can obtain access to it. It will be my main object to make it appear conclusively, from such evidence as will now be adduced, with what kind of reason Mr. Macaulay has made certain statements respecting the low state of Greek knowledge in the Universities during Charles II.'s time and among the Clergy, or rather the total ignorance of that language among many of them.

Yet before examining his assertion and the proof of it, the way will be cleared by taking a preliminary view of the schools. To take a glance at one or two of the great ones first:—

St. Paul's school then possessed a very rich library of philological works, which the fire of London destroyed (Meggott's *Sermon before the School,* 1676). In 1664 Greek was undoubtedly taught there: and Pepys, having mentioned that he was told how Dean Colet in his will would have a master found for the school, 'that hath good skill in Latin, and (*if it could be*) one that hath *some* knowledge of the Greek,' adds this reflection:

"So little was *Greek* known here *at that time.*"—*Pepys' Diary*, vol. ii. p. 149, 2nd Edit.

Let us take for another example the school at which Kettlewell was educated, North Alverton in Yorkshire. The author of his life speaks of this school as having been long in great reputation on account of its master, Mr. T. Smelt, "who was an excellent grammarian both of Latin and *Greek*." (*Kettlewell's Life*, p. 10.)

Here were trained Palliser, Archbishop of Cashel, Burnet Master of the Charter-house, Rymer, Radcliffe, and Hickes.

To pass from the more illustrious seminaries to those of obscurer fame. Payne, in his Sermon before the scholars of Brentwood in 1682, excuses himself for treating them "neither with *Greek* nor Latin," because he "knew that they had enough of those at Brentwood."

Nor does it seem reasonable to doubt that Greek was taught generally in the grammar schools of the country, even in those of the most ordinary description. And on these "common schools," Eachard thought that "the learning and wisdom of the Clergy and the prosperity of the Church very much depended." (*Grounds, &c.*, p. 14.)

Now with regard to such schools, if we take Eachard's statements and the reply to them, we shall find a good deal in common: that common part may be admitted indubitably. Let us look at Eachard first.

"And first of all, it were certainly worth the considering, whether it be unavoidably necessary to keep lads to sixteen or seventeen years of age in pure slavery to a few Latin and Greek words? Or whether it may not be more convenient, especially if we call to mind their natural inclinations to ease and idleness, and how hardly they are persuaded of the excellency of the liberal arts and sciences, any further than the smart of the last piece of discipline is fresh in their memories; whether I say it be not more proper and beneficial to mix with those unpleasant tasks and drudgeries, something that

in probability might not only take much better with them, but might also be much easier obtained?

"As suppose some part of time was allotted them for the reading of some innocent English authors; where they need not go every line so unwillingly to a tormenting dictionary, and whereby they might come in a short time to apprehend common sense, and to begin to judge what is true: for you shall have lads that are arch knaves at the nominative case, and that have a notable quick eye at spying out the verb, who, for want of reading such common and familiar books, shall understand no more of what is very plain and easy than a well-educated dog or horse. Or suppose they were taught (as they might much easier be than what is commonly offered to them) the principles of Arithmetic, Geometry, and such alluring parts of learning: as these things undoubtedly would be much more useful, so much more delightful to them, than to be tormented with a tedious story how Phaeton broke his neck, or how many nuts and apples Tityrus had for his supper: for most certainly youths, if handsomely dealt with, are much inclinable to emulation and to a very useful esteem of glory, and more especially if it be the reward of knowledge; and therefore if such things were carefully and discreetly propounded unto them, wherein they might not only earnestly contend amongst themselves, but might also see how far they out-skill the rest of the world, a lad hereby would think himself high and mighty, and would certainly take great delight in contemning the next unlearned mortal he meets withal. But if instead hereof you diet him with nothing but with rules and exceptions, with tiresome repetitions of *Amo*'s and τύπτω's, setting a day also apart to recite verbatim all the burdensome task of the foregoing week (which I am confident is usually as dreadful as an old parliament fast), we must needs believe that such a one thus managed will scarce think to prove immortal by such performances and accomplishments as these. You know very well, sir, that lads in the general have but a kind of ugly and odd conception of learning, and look upon it as such a starving thing and unnecessary perfection (especially as it is usually dispensed out unto them), that ninepins and span-counter are judged much more heavenly employments: and therefore what pleasure, do we think, can such a one take in being bound to get against breakfast two or three

hundred rumblers out of Homer, in commendation of Achilles' toes or the Grecians' boots: or to have measured out unto him, very early in the morning, fifteen or twenty well laid-on lashes, for letting a syllable slip too soon, or hanging too long upon it? Doubtless, instant execution upon such grand miscarriages as these will eternally engage him to a most admirable opinion of the Muses.

"Lads, certainly, ought to be won by all possible arts and devices; and though many have invented fine pictures and games to cheat them into the undertaking of unreasonable burdens, yet this by no means is such a lasting temptation as the propounding of that which in itself is pleasant and alluring: for we shall find very many, though of no excelling quickness, will soon perceive the design of the landscape, and so looking through the veil, will then begin to take as little delight in those pretty contrivances, as in getting by heart three or four leaves of ungayed nonsense.

"Neither seems the stratagem of money to be so prevailing and catching, as a right-down offering of such books which are ingenious and convenient; there being but very few so intolerably careful of their bellies, as to look upon the hopes of a cake or a few apples to be a sufficient recompence for cracking their pates with a heap of independent words.

"I am not sensible that I have said anything in disparagement of those two famous tongues, the Greek and Latin, there being much reason to value them beyond others; because the best of human learning has been delivered unto us in those languages. But he that worships them purely out of honour to Rome and Athens, having little or no respect to the usefulness and excellency of the books themselves (as many do), it is a sign he has a great esteem and reverence of antiquity but I think him by no means comparable for happiness to him who catches frogs or hunts butterflies.

"That some languages therefore ought to be studied is in a manner absolutely necessary, unless all were brought to one (which would be the happiest thing that the world could wish for): but whether the beginning of them might not be more insensibly instilled, and more advantageously obtained, by reading philosophical as well as other ingenious authors, than *Janua Lin-*

guarum's, crabbed poems, and cross-grained prose, as it has been heretofore by others, so it ought to be afresh considered by all well-wishers either to the Clergy or learning.

"I know where it is the fashion of some schools, to prescribe to a lad for his evening refreshment, out of Commenius, all the terms of art belonging to Anatomy, Mathematics, or some such piece of learning. Now, is it not a very likely thing that a lad should take most absolute delight in conquering such a pleasant task, where perhaps he has two or three hundred words to keep in mind, with a very small proportion of sense thereunto belonging; whereas the use and full meaning of all those difficult terms would have been most insensibly obtained by leisurely reading in particular this or the other science?"—*The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion enquired into, in a Letter written to R. L.* [*By John Eachard*], pp. 4–9. 1670.

Now let it be seen what the author of a *Vindication of the Clergy* has to say to the contrary:

"A great part of their pretended ignorance he lays upon the old-fashioned methods and discipline of schooling, to assure us he is a well-wisher to some new model, he knows not what, but is content at present to be only so far a regulator as to mention some very mischievous abuses of youth in common schools, which I shall enquire into by-and-bye: for it were not amiss to inform him by the way, that all men are not of the fanatick skip-jack's mind, for new models and methods, (more than for new moons and new Gods), provided the old have been found by long experience neither uncertain nor ineffectual. Πᾶσα μεταβολὴ φύσει ἐκστατικὸν, says plodding Aristotle, and 'tis as true as if Cartes himself had said it, that changing foundations is oftentimes of dangerous consequence.....

* * * * * * *

"I now proceed to consider the abuses our author observes in the old received way of school-education.

"The first is, that boys are kept in pure slavery to Latin and Greek words till sixteen or seventeen years of age: so that if you will believe him, Rider's Dictionary and Scapula's Lexicon are the only books they do, or at least need converse with, for that

purpose. To remedy this abuse (which yet is of his own making) he starts the fancy of putting them upon English authors: that doubtless would be as pleasing as Tityrus's apples and nuts to them who are naturally inclined to ease and idleness, but would not so well satisfy their parents, who send them to school chiefly to learn *Amo*'s and τύπτω's, for so we are taught to call the Greek and Latin tongues. But that they should fall upon Geometry and Philosophical discourses for that end, rather than Homer, Virgil, Tully, &c., is such a monster as the teeming Africa ne'er brought forth the fellow of it: 'twere τὸ καινότατον indeed, to put boys upon puzzling their tender brains about crabbed theories and knotty problems, such as grown men of the profoundest judgments can scarcely fathom or understand; as if Hercules' shoes would fit a dwarf, as if lambs could wade where elephants are forced to swim, and every little Philistine could play at quarter-staff with Goliah's beam."—*Vindication of the Clergy*, pp. 35, 36.

Now, surely, does it not appear plain from these two jesters, that boys, intended for Clergymen, had a fair classical education? Eachard found fault with the *preponderance* of classical studies, not the defect.

His opponent is of the contrary opinion; but, at any rate, the fact of Greek and Latin being ordinarily read in common schools is as clear as noonday.

However, the very driest facts will sometimes give better and livelier notions of a state of things than any arguments whatever.

There is a work entitled "*The General Catalogue of Books printed in England since the Fire of London*, 1666, *to the end of Trinity Term*, 1674," with divers other matters, and among them, "with a Catalogue of School Books" collected by Robert Clavel; his work, being printed in London 1675.

The Catalogue of School Books occupies five folio pages and twice as many columns; each column averages nearly forty works; the great majority are Greek or Latin;

the fact tallying exactly with Eachard's and his opponent's account of things. Among the Greek books and the books on Greek are Aristophanes, priced 6*s.*; Busby's Greek Grammar, Demosthenes, and the Odyssey, marked 4*s.* each; while the Iliad is marked sixpence higher. Here too are to be found Hesiod, Isocrates (with the Greek text only, or accompanied by a version), the minor Greek poets, and Xenophon, besides the Greek Testament, and the Psalms in Greek; to say nothing of sundry royal Grammars, lights to Grammars, keys, easy entrances, princely ways, poetic mystagogues, portals of tongues, woods of synonymes, apophthegms, colloquies, posings of the parts, &c. on the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, or French tongues, as the case may be. Youth's Behaviours in two parts, Logics, School Pastimes, Child's Delights, are among the few English books which are not of a grammatical character.

By reason of the preponderance of Greek and Latin over other books in schools, it must, all things considered, be evident that both languages were pretty generally taught throughout the seminaries of the country; though undoubtedly the Latin works were much the more numerous.

Having thus obtained some notion of school education, we are now more qualified to examine with what justice Mr. Macaulay makes the following startling announcements respecting the Universities:

"The literary acquirements, even of the accomplished gentlemen of that generation, seem to have been somewhat less solid and profound than at an earlier or a later period. Greek learning, at least, did not flourish among us in the days of Charles the Second, as it had flourished before the civil war, or as it again flourished long after the revolution. There were undoubtedly scholars to whom the whole Greek literature, from Homer to Photius, was familiar: but such scholars were to be found almost exclusively among the clergy resident at the universities, and even at the universities were few, and were not fully appreciated. At Cambridge it was not

thought by any means necessary that a divine should be able to read the Gospels in the original.* Nor was the standard at Oxford higher. When, in the reign of William the Third, Christ Church rose up as one man to defend the genuineness of the Epistles of Phalaris, that great college, then considered as the first seat of philology in the kingdom, could not muster such a stock of Attic learning as is now possessed by several youths at every great public school."—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. I. pp. 395, 396.

With regard to the observations about Oxford, the reasoning is remarkable. Supposing that it were, as stated, unnecessary for a Cambridge divine to read the Gospels in Greek, how would it appear that the Oxford standard was no higher? Because, it seems, all Christchurch put together was no match (in William III.'s time) for Bentley; and because things unknown to Oxford men then are now known to our best public-school boys. If the latter remark seem specious, it should be remembered that Bentley's work being in the hands of those school-boys is the true cause why they know what Oxford men knew not; besides the same boys know laws of Greek metre (such as Porson's rule respecting the final cretic in an iambic line) of which Bentley himself never heard. Bentley's opponents were far from being despicable: Mr. Dyce, the editor of Bentley, calls Dr. Aldrich, Dean of Christchurch, under whose auspices Charles Boyle edited Phalaris, 'learned and accomplished.' And if the name of Boyle is in our minds now-a-days commonly associated with contempt (as it ought not to be), it is because his opponent was incomparably the greatest scholar in the kingdom (or rather the world), and not only so, but a most merciless and sarcastic scourger. So far from learning being low at Oxford in Charles II.'s

* "Roger North tells us that his brother John, who was Greek Professor at Cambridge, complained bitterly of the general neglect of the Greek tongue among the academical clergy."—*Mr. Macaulay's Note.*

time, it was, at all events in the earlier part of his reign, the very contrary, and great attention was bestowed upon the writings of the Fathers, and by consequence upon the Greek language. Let Burnet be witness to this point: he is speaking of the year 1662.

"LEARNING WAS THEN HIGH AT OXFORD; chiefly the study of the oriental tongues, which was much raised by the Polyglot Bible, then lately set forth. *They read the Fathers much there:* mathematics and the new philosophy were in great esteem. And the meetings that Wilkins had begun at Oxford were now held in London too, in such public manner, that the King himself encouraged them much, and had many experiments made before him."—*Burnet's Own Time*, vol. i. pp. 321, 322.

Let us now proceed to examine Mr. Macaulay's proof that "at Cambridge it was not thought by any means necessary that a divine should be able to read the Gospels in the original."

The proof appears to depend upon Roger North's account of his brother John's bitter complaints 'of the general neglect of the Greek tongue among the academical Clergy.'

The reader can form his own judgment upon the passage, which is subjoined entire, and consider whether it raises so much as a presumption that any clergyman was so absolutely ignorant of the language, as not to be able to construe the original Greek of the Gospels:

"During his former residence in Trinity College, the doctor persevered in his application to the Greek literature; and his time and pains therein were not lost, for he made such advances that he was reputed one of the best Grecians in the university. And accordingly, in November 1672, he was elected Greek professor. That service obliged him to read lectures publicly in the schools at appointed times; which he performed most punctually, and thereby confirmed the opinion that was preconceived of him; for he was really a prime critic in that language. He used to say that a due knowledge of the Greek tongue was absolutely necessary for a

divine: and as the Grecian, so the divine. He much wondered to see that skill so much slighted and laid aside as it was by the clergy in general. For his part, he did not see with what face a man could pretend to be of the clergy, and not understand Greek; since not only the New Testament, but most of the eminent ecclesiastical writers were in Greek: and the idiom of that language (not justly transferable into any common speech) gives the greatest light towards clearing obscure questions in divinity. Latin, and the vernaculars westward, which are almost all deduced under it, carry nearly the same idiom; but the Orientals and Greek partake not so much of them."—*North's Lives*, vol. III. pp. 321, 322.

Although it is almost a waste of time and paper to add a syllable by way of comment on the above passage from North; yet let us produce the two following citations from one of our most eminent Latin scholars, who was for some years engaged in tuition in Trinity College, Cambridge; and let us suppose them to fall, a couple of centuries hence, into the hands of such an historian as Mr. Macaulay.

The passages are these:—

"No person who is conversant with the subject will venture to assert that Latin scholarship is at present flourishing in England. On the contrary, it must be admitted that, while we have lost that practical familiarity with the Latin language which was possessed some forty years ago by every Englishman with any pretensions to scholarship, we have not supplied the deficiency by making ourselves acquainted with the results of modern philology so far as they have been brought to bear upon the language and literature of ancient Rome."—*Donaldson's Varronianus, Pref.*

Again:

"If there is one idiom which seems both worthy and likely to include within it the articulate utterances of all the world, it is our own, for we too 'are sprung of earth's first blood,' and the sun never sets upon our Saxondom. Still we ought not to neglect or discourage the study of the old Roman language: though it will never again become the spoken language of Europe,

there is no reason why it should not resume its place as the organ of literary communication."—*Ibid.* p. 292.

Now what shall hinder some future historical romancer from affirming, on the strength of these passages, that it was not deemed by any means necessary at Cambridge in the reign of Queen Victoria for a student to be able to read Virgil, seeing that Latin had fallen into so general a desuetude; and that any one who was able to scan a line of it, was looked upon as a prodigious scholar? It would be a merry jest truly, if such a thing ever should be said; but it would not be at all a better one than Mr. Macaulay's account of things in Charles II's time.

If any one would wish to know the state of Greek scholarship at Cambridge in that reign, he may learn something from the following passages of Burnet and Barrow: the latter writer is, of course, not to be understood too literally, but still his testimony is most abundantly subversive of Mr. Macaulay's proposition.

Burnet then writes as follows: he is speaking of the Cambridge students who were formed under Whichcot, Cudworth, Wilkins, and More. He then gives a character of each of these great men:

"Whichcot was a man of a rare temper, very mild and obliging. He had great credit with some that had been eminent in the late times, but made all the use he could of it to protect good men of all persuasions. He was much for liberty of conscience: and being disgusted with the dry systematical way of those times, he studied to raise those who conversed with him to a nobler set of thoughts, and to consider religion as a seed of a deiform nature, (to use one of his own phrases). In order to this, *he set young students much on reading the ancient Philosophers, chiefly Plato, Tully, and Plotin,* and on considering the Christian religion as a doctrine sent from God, both to elevate and sweeten human nature, in which he was a great example, as well as a wise and kind instructor."—*Burnet's Own Time.* vol. i. pp. 311, 312.

Barrow thus harangues his academic audience:

" Quod faustum, felixque sit, Academici, anno in se redeunti, mensibusque circumvolutis, cum Serpente isto Ægyptio, veteri pelle depositâ, viridem resumit, et quasi renovari se sentit Academia. Rursus in hanc quasi Jovis Ægyptii ædem solennes ludos acturi confluxistis. Adhuc à bellorum rabie incolumes, et à tot mutationibus Reipublicæ inconcussi, adhuc ab importunis querelis et convitiis ingratè contra vos lascivientis populi superstites persistitis. Nondum aut fortunæ fluxa instabilitas, aut oppugnationes publicæ, aut clandestinæ molitiones improborum hominum, saluti vestræ insidiantium, efficere potuerunt, ne etiamnum applaudere vigentibus, et florentibus literis, et ne divino favori almo nostræ Academiæ Statori et Protectori gratiarum anniversarium debitum persolvere possimus. Enimvero quasi inesset periculis vis quædam salutaris, nunquam magis quam per has tempestates, et lubricas rerum fluctuationes bonarum literarum omne genus crescere et germinare videbatur: de qua re præcipue opportunum fuerit vobis impense gratulari; nec quidvis succurrit cogitanti et sanctitate hujusce loci, et temporis solennitate, et meo genio, et vestrâ omnium illustri frequentiâ, gravissimâque expectatione dignius dicendi argumentum: ex quo et Dei Opt. Max. præstantissima dona et beneficia agnoscere, et vos ad ulteriorem studiorum profectum excitare; et clarissimos hospites vobis benevole omnia prospera optantes felicitatis vestræ qualicunque amœnâ repræsentatione recreare valeamus. Unde autem vobis gratulari incipiam potius quam ab iis, per quas loqui concessum est, linguis, istis totius literaturæ quasi stabilibus fundamentis, et nucibus quas frangere oportet quemvis nucleum intimioris doctrinæ devorare cupientem? quarum singulari gloria sive peritiam, sive varietatem spectemus, nulla Academiæ tempora cum nostris fuerint conferenda: adeo ut quas antiquior Academia vix intellexit, nostra expedite loquatur, et quarum illa famam vix audivit, hæc mentem familiariter intelligat: imo et quas grande aliquid fuit, provectiorem aliquem Magistrum, Doctoremve mediocriter callere, eas nos vixdum egressos e matrice Academica inque suis cunis vagientes infantulos distincte pronunciantes audiamus. GRÆCOS AUTHORES OMNE GENUS, POETAS, PHILOSOPHOS, HISTORICOS, SCHOLIASTAS, QUOS NON ITA PRIDEM TANQUAM BARBAROS MAJORUM INSCITIA VERITA EST ATTINGERE, JAM

MATRIS NOSTRÆ ETIAM JUNIORES FILII INTREPIDE PERVOLVUNT, IPSORUM LECTIONEM IN LEVIS NEGOTII CENSU REPUTANTES; NEC MINUS PROMPTE LYCEUM, AUT ACADEMIAM ADEUNT, QUAM SI REMEANTIBUS SECULIS CUM PLATONE ET ARISTOTELE IN MEDIIS ATHENIS VERSARENTUR."—*Barrow Opusc.* vol. iv. pp. 123, 124.

SECTION IV.

OF THE MARRIAGE OF THE CLERGY.

On this head Mr. Macaulay favours us with a very special account, reaching backwards and stretching forwards over nearly two centuries: in the course of it he is pleased to insinuate that about the time of James II.'s accession (the time of which his history treats) the wives of chaplains had not much better claim to morality than to station, and he carries this accusation forward into the reign of George the Second:

"Perhaps after some years of service he was presented to a living sufficient to support him: but he often found it necessary to purchase his preferment by a species of simony, which furnished an inexhaustible subject of pleasantry to three or four generations of scoffers. With his cure he was expected to take a wife. The wife had ordinarily been in the patron's service; AND IT WAS WELL IF SHE WAS NOT SUSPECTED OF STANDING TOO HIGH IN THE PATRON'S FAVOUR. Indeed the nature of the matrimonial connections which the clergymen of that age were in the habit of forming is the most certain indication of the place which the order held in the social system. An Oxonian, writing a few months after the death of Charles the Second, complained bitterly, not only that the country attorney and the country apothecary looked down with disdain on the country clergyman, but that one of the lessons most earnestly inculcated on every girl of honourable family was to give no encouragement to a lover in orders, and that, if any young lady forgot this precept, she was almost as much disgraced as by an illicit amour.* Clarendon, who assuredly bore no ill will to the

* "A causidico, medicastro, ipsaque artificum farragine, ecclesiæ rector aut vicarius contemnitur et fit ludibrio. Gentis et familiæ nitor sacris ordi-

Church, mentions it as a sign of the confusion of ranks which the great rebellion had produced, that some damsels of noble families had bestowed themselves on divines.* A waiting woman was generally considered as the most suitable helpmate for a parson. Queen Elizabeth, as head of the Church, had given what seemed to be a formal sanction to this prejudice, by issuing special orders that no clergyman should presume to marry a servant girl, without the consent of her master or mistress.† During several generations accordingly the relation between priests and handmaidens was a theme for endless jest; nor would it be easy to find, in the comedy of the seventeenth century, a single instance of a clergyman who wins a spouse above the rank of a cook.‡ Even so late as the time of George the Second, the keenest of all observers of life and manners, himself a priest, remarked that, in a great household, the chaplain was the resource of a lady's maid whose character had been blown upon, and who was therefore forced to give up hopes of catching the steward.‖"—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. I. pp. 328, 329.

Mr. Macaulay's charge is two-fold; or rather there is one insinuation and one charge. Let us take the former first:

I. Now where is the proof to warrant this insinuation of want of chastity anywhere near the time of which he is writing? whence is it derived? Until a certain discovery was made, it gave me the greatest perplexity to conjecture. A very grave charge this is to be made against the wives of a large proportion of the Clergy. But in vain did I try to find

nibus pollutus censetur: fœminisque natalitio insignibus unicum inculcatur sæpius præceptum, ne modestiæ naufragium faciant, aut, (quod idem auribus tam delicatulis sonat,) ne clerico se nuptas dari patiantur.—*Anglicæ Notitia*, by T. Wood, of New College, Oxford, 1686.

* Clarendon's Life, ii. 21.

† See the Injunctions of 1559, in Bishop Sparrow's Collection. Jeremy Collier, in his Essay on Pride, speaks of this injunction with a bitterness which proves that his own pride had not been effectually tamed.

‡ Roger and Abigail in Fletcher's Scornful Lady, Bull and the Nurse in Vanbrugh's Relapse, Smirk and Susan in Shadwell's Lancashire Witches, are instances.

‖ Swift's Directions to Servants. [*Mr. Macaulay's Notes*].

out by which of his authorities he intended it to be substantiated; for it was most evident that he had something in his eye when he wrote, "*even so late as* the time of George the Second" Dean Swift made some remark or other. It was of course impossible to know what weight was to be attached to the evidence against the chaplains' wives towards the end of the seventeenth century, till it was previously determined what that evidence was. The reader however may perhaps discover by the concluding chapter; and he may find too that the form of the insinuation has been altered in such a manner that Swift's authority seems to confirm it.

However (though it does not strictly fall within the present enquiry) we will consider whether Swift is good proof of such immoralities being frequent during George the Second's reign.

Mr. Macaulay has truly given the substance of Swift's remarks: and perhaps it may be advisable to carry the quotation forward into the first sentence of the following paragraph, at which (for obvious reasons) we are compelled to stop.

"I must caution you (the waiting-maid) particularly against my lord's eldest son: if you are dexterous enough, *it's odds that you may draw him in to marry you and make you a lady.*"—*Swift's Directions to Servants: Works*, vol. XVI. p. 185 (Lond. 1784).

Now surely if Swift is good proof that chaplains were in the habit of marrying such waiting-maids as have been mentioned, he is equally good proof that a waiting-maid had little difficulty in gaining my lord's eldest son. No one however (I suppose) will pretend that such marriages were then *common* in high life; and no one (I should have thought) would consider such an authority to be legitimate testimony of the ordinary marriages of clergymen at any period.

II. Having dispatched the charge of immorality, let us proceed to examine that of vulgarity.

The first authority belongs to the sixteenth century, a period which does not properly enter into the present enquiry. One thing is certain, that the condition of the Clergy was much improved afterwards in the time of Charles II., for the fact is agreed upon between Eachard and his opponent, to say nothing of other reasons for so thinking. It follows therefore that we cannot safely argue from the time of Elizabeth to the time of Charles II. But in truth Mr. Macaulay has overstrained the inference from Elizabeth's Injunctions. There is much less speciality about them than his account would lead us to suppose: she provides that a clergyman shall not marry *any manner of woman*—not merely a waiting-woman—without leave had either from her parents or her relations, or in default of these, the master and mistress where she serveth. The whole passage given at large will prevent the necessity of further comment on that point:

"*Item.* Although there be no prohibition by the Word of God, nor any example of the primitive Church, but that the priests and ministers of the Church may lawfully, for the avoiding of fornication, have an honest and sober wife, and that for the same purpose the same was, by Act of Parliament in the time of our dear brother King Edward the Sixth, made lawful; whereupon a great number of the Clergy of this realm were then married, and so yet continue: yet because there hath grown offence and some slander to the Church, by lack of discreet and sober behaviour in many ministers of the Church, both in choosing of their wives and in undiscreet living with them, the remedy whereof is necessary to be sought; it is thought therefore very necessary that no manner of priest or deacon shall hereafter take to his wife any manner of woman without the advice and allowance first had upon good examination by the bishop of the same diocese and two justices of the peace of the same shire dwelling next to the

place where the same woman hath made her most abode before her marriage, nor without the good will of the parents of the said woman, if she have any living, or two of the next of her kinsfolks, or for lack of knowledge of such, of her master or mistress where she serveth. And before she shall be contracted in any place, he shall make a good and certain proof thereof to the minister, or to the congregation assembled for that purpose, which shall be upon some holy-day where divers may be present. And if any shall do otherwise, that then they shall not be permitted to minister either the word or the Sacraments of the Church, nor shall be capable of any ecclesiastical benefice, and for the manner of marriages of any bishops, the same shall be allowed and approved by the metropolitan of the province, and also by such Commissioners as the Queen's Majesty thereunto shall appoint, and if any Master or Dean, or any Head of any College shall purpose to marry, the same shall not be allowed but by such to whom the visitation of the same doth properly belong, who shall in any wise provide that the same tend not to the hindrance of their house."—*Sparrow's Collection of Articles*, pp. 71, 72 (Lond. 1661).

Yet, though from the low condition of the Clergy at that period (which appears elsewhere in the Injunctions) there is every probability that low marriages were then not uncommon, I am inclined to think it may reasonably admit of some doubt whether very much could be inferred to that effect from the provisions of this injunction. The following passage of Heber's *Life of Taylor* will explain my meaning:

"In the time of our ancestors, the interval between the domestics and the other members of a family was by no means so great, nor fenced with so harsh and impenetrable a barrier, as in the present days of luxury and excessive refinement. As the highest rank of subjects was elevated then at a greater height than they now are above the most considerable private gentry, so the latter constituted a far more efficient link in the great chain of society, and a far easier gradation existed between the nobles and that class of men from whom their own domestics were taken. There was,

in those days, no supposed humiliation in offices which are now accounted menial, but which the peer then received as a matter of course from "the gentlemen of his household;" and which were paid to the knight or gentleman by domestics chosen in the families of his own most respectable tenants; while, in the humbler ranks of middle life, it was the uniform and recognised duty of the wife to wait on her husband, the child on his parents, the youngest of the family on his elder brothers or sisters. But while the subordination of service was thus perfect and universal, this very universality softened its rigours. The well-born and well-educated retainers of a noble family were admitted by its head to that confidence and familiarity which their rank and attainments justified. The servants of the manor-house were usually the humble friends of the master and mistress, whose playmates they had been during childhood, and under whose protection they hoped to grow old. We have been, most of us, impressed with the tone of equality assumed by the valets of the old French comedy; and the jovial familiarity of Furnace, Amble, and Order, in Massinger's "New Way to pay Old Debts," is a well known, and probably an accurate portrait of that species of graduated intercourse which once connected the aristocracy, and the throne itself, with the humblest orders of society, and in the abolition of which it may be reasonably doubted whether all parties are not rather losers than gainers." —*Bishop Heber's Life of Jeremy Taylor*, pp. vii. viii.

The social position then of the higher domestics was much more elevated in the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries than in later times.

Such being the state of society in Jeremy Taylor's boyhood, it is easy to see that no very great force is be attached to Mr. Macaulay's remarks on the first of the three plays which he has referred to, viz. Beaumont and Fletcher's *Scornful Lady*. In that piece, written in James the First's time, Sir Roger a chaplain marries not indeed "a cook," but a person greatly "above the rank of a cook," viz. Abigail, a waiting-*gentle*-woman, a title never, I believe, given to any but the higher kind of attendants. Although for the matter of

it, had it been otherwise, Sir Roger is so foolish, and Abigail so intriguing, that no general inference of a prejudicial nature against clerical marriages could have been drawn from this example. Jeremy Collier accuses the play heavily, as designing to bring the Clergy and religion into contempt.

We are now beginning to find our way down to the proper period of our investigation.

The testimonies are those of Clarendon and two plays; likewise of Eachard, Oldham, and Wood.

To begin with Clarendon:

"He [the King] grew more disposed to leave all things to their natural course and God's providence; and by degrees unbent his mind from the knotty and ungrateful part of his business, grew more remiss in his application to it, and indulged to his youth and appetite that licence and satisfaction that it desired, and for which he had opportunity enough, and could not be without ministers abundant for any such negotiations; the time itself; and the young people thereof of either sex having been educated in all the liberty of vice without reprehension or restraint. All relations were confounded by the *several sects in religion*, which discountenanced all forms of reverence and respect as reliques and marks of superstition. Children asked not blessing of their parents; nor did they concern themselves in the education of their children, but were well content that they should take any course to maintain themselves, that they might be free from that expense. The young women conversed without any circumspection or modesty, and frequently met at taverns and common eating-houses; and they who were stricter and more severe in their comportment became the wives of the seditious preachers or of officers of the army. The daughters of noble and illustrious families bestowed themselves upon *the divines of the time*, or other low and unequal matches. Parents had no manner of authority over their children, nor children any obedience or submission to their parents; but every one did that which was good in his own eyes."—*Clarendon's Life*, vol. II. p. 21.

By *divines* Mr. Macaulay understands the noble writer to denote the divines of the Church of England: he appears

to me to mean presbyterian divines, by his additional words *of the time*, and by the general context.

The following passage from his *History of the Rebellion* will shew that he calls such persons divines:

"This fresh example the *assembly of godly and learned divines* had before their eyes when this covenant was sent to them for their consideration, and speedy resolution; and according to the haste it required that clergy returned within two days their full approbation of it; there having been but two ministers who made any pause or scruple of it, and they again soon confessing 'they had received satisfaction to their doubts in the debate, and that they were fully convinced of the lawfulness and piety of it.' Having received so absolute an approbation and concurrence, and the battle of Newbury being in that time likewise over, (which cleared and removed more doubts than the assembly had done,) it stuck very few hours with both houses; but being at once judged convenient and lawful, the lords and commons, and their assembly of divines, met together at the church with great solemnity to take it, on the five-and-twentieth day of September; a double holyday, by the earl of Essex's triumphant return to London, and this religious exercise. There two or three of their divines went up into the pulpit successively, not to preach, but to pray; others, according to their several gifts, to make orations upon the work of the day."—*Clarendon's History of the Rebellion*, book VII. pp. 262, 263 (Oxf. 1839).

Similar expressions occur elsewhere in his works.

But, in truth, when he has occasion to speak of the divines of the Church of England he uses very different language. Thus, for example—

"Dr. Gorges, the King's chaplain, being a gentleman of a good family near that place, and allied to Mr. Norton, supped with them." —*Ibid.* book XIII.

Again, speaking of Dr. Hewet whom Cromwell put to death—

"Dr. Hewet was born a gentleman and bred a scholar, and was *a divine before the beginning of the troubles.*"—*Ibid.* book XV.

Whereas the men of whom he speaks in the passage alluded to were *divines of the time.* I hope now to have made Clarendon's meaning clear: at any rate the consideration that he himself recommended the Hon. R. Boyle to enter holy orders must surely remove all doubt. His testimony therefore was altogether beside the purpose.

Two plays remain to be considered. In Vanbrugh's *Relapse,* Bull marries Nurse, a governante.

How can Mr. Macaulay (knowing, as he perfectly well does, the character of this writer, as appears by the passage quoted at the end of our second section) refer us to him in proof of the ordinary marriages of the Clergy?

The following account of the play by Jeremy Collier will relieve me from saying a syllable more on the subject:

"This is rare Protestant diversion, and very much for the credit of the Reformation! The Church of England, I mean the men of her, is the only communion in the world that will endure such insolences as these. The *Relapse* is if possible more singularly abusive [than *The Provoked Wife*]. Bull the chaplain wishes the married couple joy in language horribly smutty and profane: to transcribe it would blot the paper too much. In the next page Young Fashion desires Bull to make haste to Sir Tunbelly. He answers very decently, *I fly, my good Lord.* At the end of this act Bull speaks to the case of bigamy, and determines it thus. *I do confess, to take two husbands for the satisfaction of — is to commit the sin of exorbitancy, but to do it for the peace of the spirit is no more than to be drunk by way of physic: besides, to prevent a parent's wrath is to avoid the sin of disobedience, for when the parent is angry, the child is froward:* the conclusion is insolently profane, and let it lie. The spirit of this thought is borrowed from Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair,* only the profaneness is mightily improved, and the abuse thrown off the meeting-house upon the Church. The wit of the parents being angry and the child froward is all his own. Bull has more of this heavy stuff upon his hands. He tells Young Fashion, *Your worship's goodness is unspeakable, yet*

there is one thing seems a point of conscience; and conscience is a tender babe, &c.

"These poets I observe, when they grow lazy and are inclined to nonsense, they commonly get a clergyman to speak it: thus they pass their own dulness for humour, and gratify their ease and their malice at once. Coupler instructs Young Fashion which way Bull was to be managed. He tells him, *As chaplains go now, he must be bribed high; he wants money, preferment, wine, and a whore. Let this be procured for him, and I'll warrant thee he speaks truth like an oracle.*

"A few lines forward, the rudeness is still more gross and dashed with smut, the common playhouse ingredient. 'Tis not long before Coupler falls into his old civilities. He tells Young Fashion, *Last night the devil run away with the parson of Fatgoose living.* Afterwards Bull is plentifully railed on in downright Billingsgate; made to appear silly, servile, and profane, and treated both in posture and language with the utmost contempt.

"I could cite more plays to this purpose, but these are sufficient to shew the temper of the stage."—*Collier's Short View, &c.* pp. 108–110, (Lond. 1698).

Again, in Shadwell's *Lancashire Witches* Smirk marries the housekeeper Susan.

If Mr. Macaulay had read the preface, he would hardly have referred us to such an example:

"Now, for reflecting upon the Church of England, you will find by many expressions in the play that I intended the contrary. And I am well assured that no learned or wise divine of the Church will believe me guilty of it. I profess to have a true value and respect for them.

"But they who say that the representation of such a fool and knave as Smirk (who is declared to be an infamous fellow, not of the Church, but crept into it for a livelihood, exposed for his folly and knavery, and expelled the family) should concern or reflect upon the Church of England, do SUFFICIENTLY ABUSE IT. *A foolish lord or knight is daily represented; nor are there any so silly to believe it an abuse to their order."—Shadwell's Lancashire Witches, Pref.*

Had this passage of Shadwell been better considered of by Mr. Macaulay, a great part of his chapter on Society had been re-written.

Eachard, Oldham, and Wood still remain. Eachard's Abigail whom the chaplain is destined to marry is related to the knight's family; his testimony therefore makes clearly against Mr. Macaulay.

The chaplain (at present but a lay-probationer), Abigail, the knight, and my lady, all dine at the same table, and are waited upon by servants:

"What then shall we do with them, and where shall we dispose of them until they come to a holy ripeness? May we venture them into the desk to read service? That cannot be, because not capable: besides, the tempting pulpit usually stands too near. Or shall we trust them in some good gentlemen's houses, there to perform holy things? With all my heart, so that they may not be called down from their studies to say grace to every health: that they may have a little better wages than the cook or butler: as also that there be a groom in the house besides the chaplain, (for sometimes to the ten pounds a-year, they crowd the looking after a couple of geldings): and that he may not be sent from table, picking his teeth, and fighting with his hat under his arm, whilst the knight and my lady eat up the tarts and chickens: it may be also convenient if he were suffered to speak now and then in the parlour, besides at grace and prayer-time; and that my cousin Abigail and he sit not too near one another at meals, nor be presented together to the little Vicarage."—*The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy and Religion enquired into, in a Letter written to R. L.* pp. 23, 24.

Again, in an answer to an opponent:

"But if these all fail and should not humble me, then by way of pigeons, and a postscript, he advises the gentry of the nation to raise all the trained bands and country troops to be in arms against me; and having well whetted their swords, to make sharp thrusts at me, and to wound my reputation, in order to the redemption of

their cousin Helen, who was carried captive to a small vicarage."—*Some Observations upon the Answer to an Enquiry into the Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt, &c.*, pp. 3, 4, (5th edit. Lond. 1685).

And once more in the same tract—

"What a fool was I, that I could not as well have put in Bette or Bidde, Susan or Sarah; but must make the answerer angry, and put in Abigail: or if I had put her in, what had I to do to trouble myself concerning the chaplain's sitting so close to her? Is it to be expected that every gentleman should maintain two tables, to keep them at a distance? or that he should keep a servant on purpose to watch private winks, treading upon toes, twitching of napkins, or breaking of merry thoughts underboard? And is there anything more natural than for prettiness to beget looking, and for looking to beget admiration? and what if admiration and love together afterwards beget a vicarage?"—*Ibid.* pp. 116, 117.

The Atheist Oldham and the Deist Wood alone are left: the former makes the chaplain marry

> "My lady's antiquated waiting-maid,
> In dressing only skilled and marmalade."

The testimony of Wood has been already cited. To their evidence I am not very careful to reply.

III. Having at length gone through Mr. Macaulay's evidence to shew the nature of the Clergy's matrimonial connexions in the seventeenth century, it remains to produce evidence of the opposite kind.

With regard to the actual instances of Clergymen's marriages in that age, which I have happened to find as they turned up almost by chance among diaries and biographies, &c., the number of them is far too small to enable me to generalize with any great confidence. However it is certainly easy to find numerous instances of the Clergy marrying persons of ancient or respectable family; they would seem to have chosen especially the daughters of men of their

own profession. The following are a few instances of Clergymen marrying women of titled family:—Fuller married a sister of Thomas Roper, Viscount Baltinglass; Burnet (before he was made bishop) twice won a spouse of noble blood. His first wife was Margaret, daughter of the Earl of Cassilis; his second, Mrs. Scott, was descended from a younger branch of the family of Buccleugh on the father's side, and related to the principal families in Guelderland on the other. Dr. Bradley, rector of Ackworth in Yorkshire, married the Lord Savile's daughter; Dean Herbert Astley married Barbara, daughter of John, only son of Sir John Hobart, Bart. Mr. Eaton, dispossessed of Aldford Rectory, had married a sister or daughter of Sir P. Oldfield, Bart.; Dr. D. Horsmansden, rector of Ulcomb, married a daughter of Sir W. St. Ledger; Mr. Rawson, restored rector of Hoby, had married a daughter of Sir R. Nevison, Knt.; Mr. Gibbons, Priest Vicar of Exeter, married a near relation of the Lord Spencer's.*

And it may possibly be worth while to add that the lowest marriage that has happened to occur to me is that of Jonathan Swift, (who married the daughter of Sir W. Temple's steward,) the very man from whose later writings Mr. Macaulay tries to prove the low marriages of our Clergy.

Nor can we see any proof that a lady was disgraced by marrying a Clergyman unless in the eyes of libertines and Deists. Even Pepys himself, though certainly no friend to the Clergy generally, can yet express himself thus:

"1667, March 18. Comes my good old friend Mr. R. Cumberland to see me, being newly come to town, whom I have not seen almost, if not quite, these seven years. In a plain country parson's dress.

* *Sir T. Browne's Works*, vol. IV. p. 7; *Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy*, passim. At an earlier period (1629) George Herbert married Jane Danvers who was nearly connected with the Earl of Danby's family. She afterwards (about 1640) married Sir. R. Cook, Knt.

I could not spend much time with him, but prayed him to come with his brother, who was with him, to dine with me to-day: which he did do, and I had a great deal of his good company; and a most excellent person he is as any I know, and one that I am sorry should be lost or buried in a little country town, and would be glad to remove him thence: and the truth is, if he would accept of my sister's fortune, I would give £100 more with him than to a man able to settle her four times as much as I fear he is able to do."—*Pepys' Diary*, vol. III. pp. 170, 171.

The writings of various divines during the seventeenth century shew incidentally that Clergymen were not debarred from making matches with the upper classes. Thus Herbert in his *Country Parson* writes:

"If the parson be unmarried, and means to continue so, he doth at least as much as hath been said. If he be married, the choice of his wife was made rather by his ear than by his eye; his judgment, not his affection, found out a fit wife for him, whose humble and liberal disposition *he preferred before beauty, riches, or honor.*"—*Country Parson*, ch. 9.

Yet if beauty, riches, or honour were out of the reach of country parsons in his time, his language is unintelligible.

Archdeacon Oley in particular, Isaac Walton, and Dr. Duport speak so strongly of the applicability of Herbert's work as a model to their own (*i.e.* Charles II.'s) times, that I should almost be justified in carrying down the testimony to that period. It is however unnecessary to do so.

Beveridge in his *Private Thoughts*, written when he was quite young and just entering orders, makes reflections on the folly and wickedness of which he should be guilty were he to marry merely for beauty or riches. But how could he have justly made such a reflection, had riches and beauty been shut out from a young clergyman?

The mode again in which Nelson speaks of Bull's marrying a priest's daughter is not intelligible on Mr. Macaulay's supposition of the generality of low marriages among the clergy:

"In the change of his condition, Mr. Bull seemed to have a regard chiefly to the character of the person he chose for the companion of his life, and preferred the qualifications of piety and virtue to those temporal advantages which for the most part influence the minds of men upon such occasions. And as this ought to be pursued by all....., so it appears still more necessary in a clergyman, because not only himself, but his family ought to be a pattern to the whole parish."—*Nelson's Life of Bull*, p. 44.

Nelson adds that humility, gravity of garb, &c. will make the wife of a clergyman rise in the esteem of others "the more she keepeth at a distance from the vanity and gaiety of the age." (p. 45.)

I shall now conclude with a testimony, which does not indeed altogether agree with the interpretation of Elizabeth's Injunction which has been proposed, but which is conclusive testimony that the Clergy of the latter part of the seventeenth century were not in the habit of marrying ordinary servants.

With Jeremy Collier's opinion about an old injunction we are much less concerned than with the incidental testimony that things were not in his own age what he seems to have supposed them to be in the time of Elizabeth:

"*Philotimus.* Say you so? Then I fancy those who drew up Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions, knew nothing of this piece of antiquity [the Canon] you mention.

Philalethes. Your reason?

Philot. Because by those Injunctions a clergyman could not lawfully marry till he had gone and made his complaint against celibacy before two Justices of the Peace, and gained their consent and the *good will of the master or mistress where the damsel served.*

Philal. And then I suppose, if he could not prevail by his rhetoric, they gave him a warrant to distrain.

Philot. Or possibly, if he courted in *formâ pauperis*, they assigned him a wife *gratis* out of an hospital.

Philal. Upon my word, this order, take it which way you will, has a singular aspect, and looks as if it intended to put

the Clergy in mind that they ought not to aspire above an Abigail. Certainly discretion and merit ran very low in the Church AT THAT TIME; or else some people were willing to make the nation believe so. But to return to the Canons."—*Jeremy Collier's Essays on Pride*, pp. 40, 41, (3rd edit. Lond. 1698).

The piece of antiquity alluded to is one of the Apostolic Canons, which forbids the ordination of one who had married a slave.

Mr. Macaulay had read this passage and alludes to it in the note to Queen Elizabeth's injunction. His remark is truly singular, that Collier's words prove that his own pride had not been effectually tamed! They prove unquestionably that he thought the times changed.

Now at length that the investigation of the subject of this section is concluded, let us remark how ill-advised it was of Mr. Macaulay to represent the marriages of the Reformed Clergy in such a light as he has done. Most unquestionably, whatever follies or crimes the married Clergy since the Reformation may have been guilty of, there cannot be a doubt that their liberty to marry has vastly contributed to the morality and credit of their order.

Let us terminate the section with the following words of Bishop Hall, in his *Treatise on the Honour of the Married Clergy*, dedicated to Archbishop Abbot:

"The Church of England is blessed with a true Clergy and glorious, and such a one as his Italian generation may impotently envy and snarl at, [but] shall never presume to compete with in worthiness and honour; and (as Dr. Taylor, that courageous martyr, said at his parting) blessed be God for holy matrimony." —*Treatise &c.* sect. 17. p. 707, (edit. 1641).

SECTION V.

ON THE INCOMES OF THE CLERGY.

WITH respect to the revenues of the Clergy about the time of the accession of James the Second, Mr. Macaulay writes as follows:—

"The rural Clergy were even more vehement in Toryism than the rural gentry, and were a class scarcely less important. It is to be observed, however, that the individual clergyman, as compared with the individual gentleman, then ranked much lower than in our days. The main support of the Church was derived from the tithe; and the tithe bore to the rent a much smaller ratio than at present. King estimated the whole income of the parochial and collegiate Clergy at only four hundred and eighty thousand pounds a-year; Davenant at only five hundred and forty-four thousand a-year. It is certainly now more than seven times as great as the larger of these two sums. It follows that rectors and vicars must have been, as compared with the neighbouring knights and squires, much poorer in the seventeenth than in the nineteenth century." — *Macaulay's History of England*, vol. I. pp. 324, 325.

It is not my intention to dispute the accuracy of either of these estimates. I will only state a fact or two which may possibly enable any person of a financial turn to approximate towards discovering the average of Clergymen's incomes, and by allowing for the altered value of money, to compare their situation with that of the Clergy in our own times. The following passage from Prideaux is important:

"And all this with the forty-eight cities which they had to dwell in, and their share in the second tithes, and tithes of

the poor, the Levitical ministry had over and above the tithes, which are now claimed among us by the ministers of the Gospel, and were by the same divine appointment fixed and settled on them. And therefore the glebes and church lands, which are now held with these tithes in this realm, can by no means make any such alteration in the case, but that the precedent, which God hath given by commanding the payment of those tithes in the Jewish state for the support of his worship in the maintenance of those who there ministered in it, will now under the Gospel hold good for the same payment in this state also, notwithstanding any such glebes or church lands, because what was held with these tithes by the Levitical ministry, was vastly more than all the glebes and church lands in this realm can amount to. For putting them all together, they will not come to above one hundred thousand pounds per annum. What belongs to bishops and deans and chapters at the largest computation, reckoning in their fines as well as their rents, I cannot make to arise higher than seventy-five thousand pounds per annum, and of this at least a third part being in appropriated tithes, there remain only fifty thousand pounds per annum in lands belonging to all the bishops and deans and chapters in this realm; and if we add hereto the glebe lands belonging to parish churches, fifty thousand pounds per annum, I reckon, is the highest value they can be laid at. So then the whole income of all the church lands and glebes in England and Wales will amount to one hundred thousand pounds per annum, which, computing the value of all the lands of both, that is the whole realm, at fifteen millions per annum (as it is usually reckoned at), is about the hundred and fiftieth part of it; whereas the cities and lands alone assigned the Levitical ministry in Canaan was a thirtieth part of that land, which is five times as much: and this is but one of those many particulars which (I have shewn) did over and above their tithes belong unto them."—*Prideaux's Original and Right of Tithes*, pp. 81–83, (Lond. 1713).

The information of Prideaux as to the particulars he mentions may probably be depended on, considering that he was himself a Dean, and is generally considered an honest man.

Before quitting the subject of the entire revenues of the Church, I will produce a passage from an anonymous tract entitled "*A Treatise of Taxes and Contributions, shewing the Nature and Measures of Crown Lands, Assessments, &c.,*" London, printed for Obadiah Blagrave, 1679. It is very probable that his estimate of Church revenue is highly exaggerated; but on this point the reader can form his own opinion:

"One cause of public charge in matters of religion, is the not having changed the limits of parishes and cures with the change of religion from popery, and with the changes in plantation and trade. For now when the ministers of the Gospel preach unto multitudes assembled in one place, may not parishes be bigger, that is may not flocks be more numerous than when every particular sheep was, as heretofore, dressed and shorn three or four times per annum by shrift? If there be in England and Wales but about five millions of people, what needs be more than five thousand parishes, that is one thousand sheep under every shepherd? Whereas in the middling parishes of London there are about five thousand souls in each. Upon which account there needs be in England and Wales but one thousand parishes, whereas there are near ten thousand.

"Now the saving of half the parishes would (reckoning the benefices one with another, but at £100 per annum apiece) save £500,000. Besides, when the number of parochial parsons were halved, then there would need but half the present number of bishops, deans and chapters, colleges, and cathedrals, which perhaps would amount to two or three hundred thousand pounds more: and yet the Church of God would be more regularly served than now, and that without prejudice to that sacred, ancient order of episcopacy, and the way of their maintenance by tithes; and all this in a method of greater reformation and suitableness thereunto."—*A Treatise &c.* p. 6.

The reader may now make the best estimate he can of the entire income of the Clergy from the above conflicting statements.

The number of parishes may be known with much greater

certainty. Chamberlayne, in his *State of Britain* for the year 1684 (at the commencement of the book), estimates their number at 9725; and in a later edition of the same work in Anne's reign, their number is stated to be 9913, 'of which 3845 are churches impropriate.' Oley, in his Preface to the *Country Parson*, speaks of the Church of England as 'a Church having eight or nine thousand parishes, and perhaps as many clerks or more.'

The average income of each Clergyman may now be known approximately from the above data. It is still however necessary to make some remarks on the altered value of money: its value was undoubtedly much greater in the latter part of the seventeenth century than at present. The following passage from Mr. Macaulay will enable any one to form some judgment on the subject:

"The average income of a temporal peer was estimated, by the best informed persons, at about three thousand a-year, the average income of a baronet at nine hundred a-year, the average income of a member of parliament at less than eight hundred a-year. A thousand a-year was thought a large revenue for a barrister. Two thousand a-year was hardly to be made in the Court of King's Bench, except by the crown lawyers. It is evident, therefore, that an official man would have been well paid if he had received a fourth or fifth part of what would now be an adequate stipend." *Macaulay's History of England*, vol. I. pp. 308, 309.

The above data, though of course far from being entirely satisfactory, are the best which I am able to furnish. The entire income of the Church, the value of each living (supposing the whole to be equally divided), and the modern value of the Clergyman's average salary, may be calculated (though very roughly) at leisure, and the result compared with the present state of things.

Mr. Macaulay, in a passage already cited, states that not one living in two hundred, after the Reformation, afforded

what would be considered as a maintenance by a man of family; and that the priesthood had lost its attraction for him. Now Wood writes thus of Henry Compton:

"Afterwards he travelled beyond the seas, and at his return, which was after the restoration of King Charles II., he became a cornet in the royal regiment under the command of Aubrey, Earl of Oxford. At length being persuaded to take holy orders, *which was the readiest way for preferment for the younger sons of noblemen*, he went to Cambridge, where he was actually created master of arts. Afterwards entering into orders, &c."—*Athen. Oxon.* vol. II. p. 968 (folio edit.), or *British Magazine*, vol. XVI. p. 31.

With regard to the generality of livings between the Restoration and the Revolution, Mr. Macaulay writes thus:

"Not one living in FIFTY enabled the incumbent to bring up a family comfortably. As children multiplied and grew, the household of the priest became more and more beggarly. Holes appeared more and more plainly in the thatch of his parsonage and in his single cassock. Often it was only by toiling on his glebe, by feeding swine, and by loading dungcarts, that he could obtain daily bread; nor did his utmost exertions always prevent the bailiffs from taking his concordance and his inkstand in execution. It was a white day on which he was admitted into the kitchen of a great house, and regaled by the servants with cold meat and ale. His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough; and his girls went out to service. Study he found impossible: for the advowson of his living would hardly have sold for a sum sufficient to purchase a good theological library."—*Macaulay's Hist. of Eng.*, vol. I. p. 330.

It may at the outset fairly be conceded that Chamberlayne's account is not much exaggerated, when in 1684 he writes:

"At present the revenues of the English Clergy are generally very small and insufficient."—*State of Britain*, p. 269.

The same remark might be made, though not with equal cogency, on the ordinary salaries of curates in the present

day. Burnet has some very strong remarks on this subject (though it is quite clear that he was not in possession of accurate statistical information) in the preface to the second part of his *History of the Reformation.*

"Some private persons have done great things this way, but the public has yet done nothing suitable to the occasion: though their neighbour nation of Scotland has set them a very good example, where, by the great zeal and care of king James, and the late blessed king, acts and orders of parliament have been made, for examining the whole state of the clergy, and for supplying all poor livings so plentifully, that in glebe and tithes all benefices are now raised to at least fifty pounds sterling yearly. What greater scorn can be put upon religion than to provide so scantly for those that are trusted with the care of souls, that some hundreds of parishes in England pay not ten pounds a-year to their pastors, and perhaps some thousands not fifty?" — *Burnet's History of the Reformation*, part II. *Pref.*

It will of course be remembered that these incomes must be multiplied by some figure, by four perhaps, to bring their sums up to their present value.

Mr. Macaulay's account is in some degree justified by Eachard; but he has certainly exceeded even that authority:

"Neither must people say, that besides bishoprics, prebends, and the like, we have several brave benefices, sufficient to invite those of the best parts, education, and discretion. For imagine one living in FORTY is worth a hundred pounds a-year, and supplied by a man of skill and wholesome counsel: what are the other thirty-nine the better for that?"—*The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy, &c.*, pp. 146, 147.

Now if one living in forty were £100 (*i.e.* £400 of our present money), Mr. Macaulay's remarks are far too strong; and besides, Eachard himself is accused of exaggeration, and (it can hardly be doubted) with perfect justice.

The reader shall be put in possession of one of Eachard's pictures which Mr. Macaulay has copied, and shall also have

the reply to it from his opponent. I would only remark that I observe twenty or thirty pounds to be numbers frequently mentioned by Eachard as the income of bad livings; so that it may be supposed that those of less value were not extremely numerous.

"Oh, how prettily and temperately may half-a-score children be maintained with almost twenty pounds per annum! What a handsome shift a poor ingenious and frugal divine will make, to take it by turns, and wear a cassock one year and a pair of breeches another. What a becoming thing is it for him that serves at the altar to fill the dungcart in dry weather, and to heat the oven and pill hemp in wet! And what a pleasant sight is it to see the man of God fetching up his single melancholy cow from a small rib of land that is scarce to be found without a guide; or to be seated upon a soft and well grinded pouch of meal; or to be planted upon a pannier with a pair of geese or turkies bobbing out their heads from under his canonical coat, as you cannot but remember the man, sir, that was thus accomplished; or to find him raving about the yards, or keeping his chamber close, because the duck lately miscarried of an egg, or that the never-failing hen has unhappily forsaken her wonted nest!

"And now, shall we think that such employments as these can any way consist with due reverence or tolerable respect from a parish? And he speaks altogether at a venture, that either says that this is false, or, at least it need not be so, notwithstanding the mean condition of some of the Clergy. For let any one make it out to me, which way it is possible that a man shall be able to maintain perhaps eight or ten in his family with twenty or thirty pounds per annum, without a most intolerable dependence upon his parish, and without committing himself to such vileness as will in all likelihood render him contemptible to his people. Now where the income is so pitifully small (which I'll assure you is the portion of hundreds of the Clergy of this nation), which way shall he manage it for the subsistence of himself and his family?"—*The Grounds of the Contempt of the Clergy, &c.*, pp. 112–114.

In answer to this let the following passages from the *Vindication of the Clergy* be adduced.

" Nor is he much more ingenuous in representing the poverty of our inferior Clergy (for them alone he must mean), by making it far more extreme and desperate than in truth it is. For if any man hath such a miraculous faith as to take his word rather than believe his own eyes, he must needs fancy them a company of sneaking Mendicant friars, who live from hand to mouth, who are pinched with want of the common necessaries of life, and spend all their days in studying only to stave off those two troublesome creditors, the back and belly.

" Indeed it must be confessed that the Church of England is not now so rich, fat, and well-liking as she was in *diebus illis* his days, and consequently not able to settle such plentiful portions upon her younger children as she would: for she lost a considerable collop by the Pope, (however, our author is so civil to the old gentleman as not to mention him,) who laid a fair foundation of sacrilege by impropriating 3845 of the 9284 parishes then in England, as Doctor Basire notes out of Camden. And when she had somewhat picked up her crumbs again, by the accession of new revenues, King Henry the Eighth, knowing as infallibly as the Pope himself that the church-lands were very good lands, could not forbear writing after his Holiness's copy, but gave her such a tearing purge that she hath never recovered her complexion since. Not to mention how far Queen Elizabeth did *patrizare*, thanks be to God our vicarages are not all so poor as they left them; for, however our author's memory fails him again, he speaks not a syllable of any late augmentations, no, he never heard that our reverend bishops and deans and chapters have (by the gracious intimation and to the eternal honour of his present Majesty) competently augmented most, if not all the small vicarages belonging to them respectively. And now I have told him, it would be a good jest indeed if he should write an effectual piece to make the sky fall,—I mean, to persuade all other impropriation-mongers to follow so good an example, and bring them to some satisfaction however, for I despair he should ever win them to refund the whole and make us all parsons again, although it be a grievance to our consciences that vicarages and sacrilege came first into England together from Rome, and in the same cloak-bag: and besides, experience tells us that church-lands (like the ark of God amongst the Philistines)

have been but a plague to the families, and a canker in the estates of their purchasers, as saith the heathen prophet,

——*Vix gaudet tertius hæres.*

" Now though we dare not be so bold as to say with my Lord Bacon, that all parliaments since the 27 and 31 of King Henry the Eighth stand obliged to God in conscience to reduce the patrimony of the Church, (to which he adds, that since they have debarred Christ's spouse of a great part of her dowry, it were reason they made her a competent jointure,) yet thus much we dare boldly say, that our gracious Sovereign and this present parliament have already given a signal earnest of their pious intentions, by restoring that part of the Church's patrimony which was bought and sold by those unhallowed rumpers; and our little historian was unworthy to mention that noble act (reserved for some great hand to record it), for which their names shall be had in everlasting remembrance.

" In the mean time, those vicars whose incomes are but small as yet, content themselves to make a virtue of necessity, and cut their coat according to their cloth. Enough sometimes is as good as a feast, and a dinner of herbs is more pleasant and acceptable to some than a stalled ox attended with all varieties is to others. Not one of an hundred of the Clergy but is as well provided for as those the poet cries up for the happy men, *Queis Deus parcâ dedit quod satis est manu.* Indeed I have oft admired to observe how contentedly, yea how plentifully, several of them live upon a little; and though I have imputed it somewhat to their own prudence, frugality, temperance, and cutting off many artificial necessities others create to themselves, yet I could not but call to mind the widow's cruse of oil and barrel of meal that never consumed while they were feeding the prophet, and almost fancied God gave them blessings other men know not of, and made some secret addition to their store: nay, I have known some of them grow insensibly into the number of the rich, whilst many of their neighbours have (by their own imprudence or some unlucky accident) lived to bury fair estates before them, and left nothing when they died but a wife perhaps, and five or six pretty children, by way of legacy to the parish. However, admitting they steer but Agur's middle course between the two extremes all their lives, it is sufficient for my present purpose; and I have reason to conclude

that poverty as well as ignorance is most injuriously attributed to the generality of our present English Clergy, *Quod erat demonstrandum.*"—*A Vindication of the Clergy*, pp. 28—32.

Again:

"At first he makes a formal face like some piteous statue in the wall, that would have us believe it bears up the whole fabric by its shrugging; as if it were a burden to his little conscience that our Clergy is not so well provided for as the Priesthood of old: but all he drives at in the end is only to let off a quirk or two, and certify mankind that the souls of men are a greater charge than sheep and oxen, and that money and victuals were not types and shadows to cease with the ceremonial law. At length he shews upon the high rope, and advances to the top of his design, his elaborate description of the vicar, which, that it might be to the life, he hath ransacked all the romances and plays written since the King came in, for accoutrements to make him the most despicable *Lazarillo* in nature: 'For he discovers him walking pensively alone in his churchyard, either without a cassock or without breeches (according as it happened to be the breeches or cassock year), and studying merely how to live; casting with himself what pigs, geese, and apples are towards, who is likely to marry or die next, and sadly remembering that the last kilderkin of drink is near departed, and that all his treasure is reduced to one single groat. Returning to the little hut, his mansion-house, he meets with new disasters to enhance his sorrows: a scurvy mole had ploughed up most of his glebe, and the malicious crows trampled down the remaining grass; then sweep comes the kite and robs him of the most hopeful chick in all the brood; and to make up the scene and ruin him quite, the jackdaws and starlings (idle birds that they are!) scattered and carried away forty or fifty of the best straws from his thin thatched roof. Thus racked and tortured he tries to weather out his melancholy by retiring into the little hole over the oven called his study (contrived there I suppose to save firing), a pretty little vatican, the whole furniture whereof is a German System, a Geneva Bible and Concordance of the same, a budget of old stitched sermons, some broken girts, with two or three yards of whip-cord behind the door, and a saw and hammer to prevent dilapidations. But finding his family cannot be maintained with

texts and contexts, (the child in the cradle crying all this while for want of milk,) down he creeps again, and betakes himself to those heavenly employments of filling the dung-cart in dry weather, pilling of hemp, and heating the oven in wet: and, to evidence his willingness to turn a penny in an honest way, one day he went to market upon a pannier with turkies and geese bobbing out their heads under his canonical coat: but, alas, alas! in his absence the beloved duck miscarries, or the never-failing hen forsakes her wonted nest; at which he either runs raving about the yard like a lunatic, or else confines himself to the little hole aforesaid, being e'en overwhelmed with grief and despair.'— Now did you ever meet with such a romantic whimsy as this in all your travels? Do you believe he really thinks this is a man of God he thus sets out and makes so bold with? Doth he not fully betray that mighty reverence he has for the holy profession, thus to prevaricate and coin an Utopian vicar merely to laugh at? Besides, granting there ever was such a forlorn creature as he describes, yet how ridiculous a thing is this new way of argumentation which concludes from particulars. For if you will take his word for good logic, one instance or two reflects disparagement, and procures a general disesteem to all that order of holy men (p. 98). As much as to say, that if some of the gentry of England, being decayed in their estates through their loyalty to the king, or by their own imprudence, their children come to be tapsters or hostlers, or any other servile officer, there must needs be a blot in the scutcheons of all the rest, though never so flourishing, till doomsday."—*A Vindication of the Clergy, &c.* pp. 80—84.

Certainly it seems hardly credible that Eachard's picture could be true, except in some few cases, or at most in some few districts, judging from Oley's remark in reference to Eachard's book.

"There be two main occasions of contempt which you take no notice of. The one external, and that is, ENVY; a mighty engine which sometimes casts hatred and instruments of death, sometimes bolts of scorn, upon men. *Laici sunt infensi clericis*, is a proverb that holds in the many. It daily feeds, partly, upon the patrimony of the Church, by God's wonderful providence

restored to the Clergy, and rescued from those that had devoured it; (and I do here, in the name of my brethren, acknowledge, that, for THAT MERCY, and the mean profits of it, we are all accountable to God and man); partly, upon the sedentary lives of churchmen: because they do not make tents as St. Paul did, nor hold the plough, thresh, or drive trades, as themselves do, they think them idle persons."—*Pref. to Herbert's Country Parson.*

In Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* it is always spoken of as an hardship when Clergymen were reduced by the sequestration of their livings to follow mean and servile employments. He contrasts the independent ministers with the orthodox Clergy in this very particular.*

With what degree of frequency the larger livings were scattered over the country, I am not able to say. It may be supposed that they were not very scarce, from the following passage of Miege's *New State of England*, (in 1693):

"As to the revenues of the inferior clergy, they are (as in all places) unequally divided; some having *a very plentiful*, some but *a competent*, and others but a *small* maintenance. Some £200 or £300 per annum, or more; others £100 or thereabouts, and some much short of that."—*The New State of England under their Majesties King William and Queen Mary*, 2nd edition, 1693, part II. c. 23. pp. 226, 227.

Indeed the most cursory survey of Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy* shews that there were a very considerable number of livings of one or two hundred a-year; many were much more. He calls a living of £40 or £45 per annum small, (vol. II. p. 238, &c. &c.).

With regard to the salaries of chaplains Mr. Macaulay writes:

"The coarse and ignorant squire, who thought that it belonged to his dignity to have grace said every day at his table by an

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, vol. II. pp. 329, 369, 375, 390. See also p. 30.

ecclesiastic in full canonicals, found means to reconcile dignity with economy. A young levite—such was the phrase then in use—might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a-year."—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. I. p. 327.

The only authority to which Mr. Macaulay has alluded that seems to bear him out, is Eachard; the passage has been quoted in the foregoing section: it is of course manifest to every one who reads it, that the chaplain was then not in orders at all; and this is so clear, that the error would be unaccountable, had not Mr. Macaulay followed a copyist of Eachard quoted in our concluding section, and not the author himself. Oldham (in his Satire) makes the salary higher:

> "Some think themselves exalted to the sky,
> If they light in some noble family;
> Diet, a horse, and thirty pounds a-year,
> Beside th' advantage of his lordship's ear:
> The credit of the business and the State
> Are things that in a youngster's sense sound great."

However, it is evident that the poet was making it as great as he could, and was speaking of noblemen's families. Though £30 was certainly sometimes given, yet £20 was probably nearer the average. Evelyn gave his chaplain, Mr. Bohun, £20 in money, besides other conveniences. It is not probable that a chaplain's salary was in general so low as £10.

Having been employed thus long in discussing the incomes of the Clergy, we may appropriately conclude the section with the following account of the efforts made to increase small livings.

King Charles II. was scarcely restored to his paternal throne, before he proceeded to take measures for increasing the revenues of the poorer Clergy. He addressed a letter and declaration to the bishops, deans, prebendaries, &c., touching the augmentation of small vicarages. "We do

resolve," says his majesty, "that, because where tithes have been appointed for the support of bishops, deans and chapters, collegiate churches and colleges, and other single persons, that have not taken due care to provide and ordain sufficient maintenance for the vicars of their respective places or for the curates where vicarages were not endowed, to settle for the future some good addition and increase on such vicarages and curates' places. Our will therefore is, that forthwith provision be made for the augmentation of all such vicarages and cures, where your tithes and profits are appropriated to you and your successors, in such manner that they who immediately attend upon the performance of ministerial offices in every parish may have a competent portion of every rectory impropriate to your see. And to this end our further will is, that no lease be granted of any rectories or parsonages belonging to your see, belonging to you or your successors, until you shall provide that the respective vicarages or curates' places, where are no vicarages endowed, have so much revenue in glebe, tithes, or other emoluments as will commonly amount to £100 or £80 per annum, or more if it will bear it, and in good form of law settle it upon them and their successors. And where the rectories are of small value, and cannot admit of such proportions to the vicar and curate, our will is, that one half of the profit of such a rectory be reserved for the maintenance of the vicar or curate."* On Aug. 7, 1660, a communication of the King's letter to the bishops was made to the House of Commons, the house resolving that a bill be drawn up immediately, reciting the substance of the declaration, together with provisions for giving it effect. Though parliament did not at this time proceed further, yet thenceforward many and large augmentations were made; and Oley was not aware

* Cardwell's Document. Annals, vol. II. pp. 221-223, and Notes.

that any cathedral had omitted its exertions to procure better incomes for its scantier livings. For the confirmation and perpetuation of such augmentations a statute (29 Charles II. c. 8) was passed in 1677, which recited the King's letter of June 1, 1660, and affirmed the alterations in the value of livings which had been voluntarily made in compliance therewith, and the validity of such other augmentations as might be made afterwards in accordance with certain expressed conditions. In reference to this Act Abp. Sancroft wrote as follows, in 1680, to the Bishop of London: "It would be an indelible blot on us, if we should be found to have finally neglected any act enjoined us by that statute, whereby the payment of those augmentations is directed to be evidenced and secured. And yet (with grief I write it) I think I have ground to fear, that what, in obedience to that excellent law, ought to have been done by us above three years since in order to so pious a purpose, is not to this day by us all universally performed." The good primate therefore requires that the deans, &c. perform what is enjoined them in the Act above mentioned, and that the bishops send him a particular of all the augmentations made, "that I may know (he adds) what hath been done herein throughout the whole province."*

It will now be clear that the authorities of the English Church were fully alive to the fact that many livings were very insufficient, and were bestirring themselves to get the scandal remedied. Nor did public men alone, but private individuals also, make sacrifices for the public good. "I must confess," says Eachard himself writing in 1671,† "it rejoices my heart more than a little to call to mind how the bishops have augmented the vicarages in their gift, and to hear

* Cardwell's Document. Annals, vol. II. p. 295.

† Some Observations upon the Answer to An Enquiry into the Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy, pp. 104, 105, (5th edit. Lond. 1685).

of several sums of money now employed towards the redeeming of the great tithes, and to understand that there be *many* well-disposed people that have already given back their impropriations to the Church; and that there be others that have made such purchases on purpose so to settle them afterwards: and above all to consider the great care and good inclinations of our present parliament towards the Church."

Indeed there is a great change of tone in this tract on several points, as Eachard's opponent remarks.

"I think myself concerned briefly to animadvert upon those particular passages therein, whereby the author seems to mince the matter and excuse himself, or put by the thrusts and weaken any argument I have made against his first letter. I begin with those passages where he alters the scene, and commends the learning and wisdom of our Clergy, which (saith he, p. 33) the *whole world have always admired, and have reason still to do, and our adversaries to dread.* And again (p. 35), *I know no reason to deny that the Clergy of the land doth daily considerably improve.* And again (p. 184), *It is a sign of nothing but perfect madness, ignorance, and stupidity, not to acknowledge that the present Church of England affords as considerable scholars and as solid and eloquent preachers as are anywhere to be found in the whole Christian world.* This is somewhat like: I hope we shall bring him to speak truth in time. Now our Clergy is either strangely improved in a very short space, or else T. B. hath changed his mind; for it is not a year ago since he laid the imputation of ignorance and folly upon the very same Clergy to which he now attributes so much learning and wisdom."—*A Vindication of the Clergy*, pp. 121, 122, (Postscript).

The facts above mentioned will at least answer this purpose—they will in a good degree exculpate the Church from blame if many of her priests were poor; and they will shew her anxiety and exertions to provide for them competently.

These early dawnings of reformation broke forth into clearer light (and have ever since waxed brighter and brighter) under the bounteous Anne.

SECTION VI.

OF THE CHILDREN OF THE CLERGY.

THE normal condition of the Country Clergyman's family is told in few words by Mr. Macaulay:

"As children multiplied and grew, the household of the priest became more and more beggarly.....His children were brought up like the children of the neighbouring peasantry. His boys followed the plough, and his girls went out to service."—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. I. p. 330.

The reader may judge of the accuracy of this description from the following evidence. Herbert in his *Country Parson* writes thus:

"The parson is very exact in the governing of his house, making it a copy and model for his parish.....His children he first makes Christians, and then commonwealth's-men; the one he owes to his heavenly country, the other to his earthly, having no title to either, except he do good to both. Therefore having seasoned them with all piety, not only of words in praying and reading, but in actions, in visiting other sick children, and tending their wounds, and sending his charity by them to the poor, and sometimes giving them a little money to do it of themselves, that they get a delight in it, and enter favour with God, who weighs even children's actions, he afterwards turns his care to fit all their dispositions with some calling, not sparing the eldest, *but giving him the prerogative of his father's profession, which* HAPPILY [*i. e.* HAPLY] *for his other children he is not able to do.* Yet in binding them apprentices (in case he think fit to do so), he takes care not to put them into vain trades, and unbefitting the reverence of their father's calling, such as are taverns for men, and lace-making for women; because those trades,

for the most part, serve but the vices and vanities of the world, which he is to deny, and not augment. However, he resolves with himself never to omit any present good deed of charity, in consideration of providing a stock for his children; but assures himself, that money thus lent to God is placed surer for his children's advantage, than if it were given to the chamber of London. Good deeds, *and good breeding*, are his two great stocks for his children; if God give any thing above those, and not spent in them, he blesseth God, and lays it out as he sees cause."—*Country Parson*, chap. x.

It appears therefore that in Herbert's time one, at the least, of a country parson's children was commonly educated for his own profession, and therefore usually received an university education.

Fuller (who shall be the next witness) wrote his *Worthies* soon after the Restoration. He is speaking of events generally between the Reformation and his own time. His section is thus headed:

"*That the Children of Clergymen have been as successful as the Sons of Men of other Professions.*

"There goeth a common report, no less uncharitable than untrue, yet meeting with many believers thereof, as if clergymen's sons were generally signally unfortunate, like the sons of Eli, Hophni and Phinehas, dissolute in their lives, and doleful in their deaths: this I may call a libel indeed, according to Sir Francis Bacon's description thereof: for first, it is a lie, a notorious untruth; and then a bell, some loud and lewd tongue hath told, yea rung it out, and perchance was welcome music to some hearers thereof.

"It is first confessed, that the best saints and servants of God have had bad as well as good children extracted from them. It is the note of Illyricus on those words of St. John to the Elect Lady: 'I rejoiced greatly, when I found of thy children walking in the truth.' He saith not all thy, but of thy children; intimating that she had mingled ware, corn, and tares in those who were descended from her. Thus Aaron (for I desire to restrain myself in instances of the priests) had Nadab and Abihu,

two 'strange fire offerers', as well as his godly sons Eleazar and Ithamar. Yea, I find one of the best fathers having two (and those I believe all he had) of the worst sons, even Samuel himself.

"Nor do we deny but that our English Clergy have been unhappy in their offspring (though not above the proportion of other professions); whereof some have not unprobably assigned these causes. First, if fellows of colleges, they are ancient before they marry. Secondly, their children then are all Benjamins; I mean, 'the children of their old age,' and thereupon by their fathers (to take off as much as we may the weight of the fault from the weaker sex) cockered and indulged, which I neither defend or excuse, but bemoan and condemn. Thirdly, such children, after their father's death, are left, in their minority, to the careless care of friends and executors, who too often discharge not their due trust in their own education; whence it is, such orphans too often embrace wild courses to their own destruction.

"But, all this being granted, we maintain that clergymen's children have not been more unfortunate, but more observed, than the children of the parents of other professions. There is but one minister at one time in a whole parish; and therefore, the fewer they are, the easier they are observed, both in their persons and posterities. Secondly, the eminency of their place maketh them exposed and obvious to all discoveries. Thirdly, possibly malice may be the eye-salve to quicken men's sight, in prying after them. Lastly, one ill success in their sons maketh (for the reasons aforesaid) more impression in the ears and eyes of people, than many miscarriages of those children whose fathers were of another function (I speak not this out of intent to excuse or extenuate the badness of the one by the badness of the other, but that both may be mutually provoked to amendment). In a word, other men's children would have as many eye-sores if they had as many eyes seeing them.

Indeed, if happiness be confined unto outward pomp and plenty, and if those must be accounted unfortunate, which I in the true meaning of the word must interpret unprovidenced, who swim not in equal plenty with others, then that epithet may be fixed on the children of the clergy; whose fathers coming late to their livings, and surprised by death, not staying long on them, which at the best afforded them but narrow maintenance, leave them ofttimes so ill

provided, that they are forced, without blame or shame to them, as I conceive, to take *sometimes* poor and painful employments for their livelihood.

" But by our following endeavours it will plainly appear, that the sons of ministers have, by God's blessing, proved as eminent as any who have raised themselves by their own endeavours. For statesmen, George Carew, Privy Councillor of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and as able a man (*absit invidia*) as the age he lived in produced, was earl of Totness, the same place whereof his father was archdeacon. Sir Edward Sandys, son to archbishop Sandys, will be acknowledged even by his enemies a man of such merit, that England could not afford an office which he could not manage. For lawyers, Sir Thomas Richardson, lately, and the never sufficiently to be commended Sir Orlando Bridgeman, now Lord Chief Justice, with many others. For seamen, Sir Francis Drake, that great scourge and terror to the Spanish pride.

" If any say, these are but thin instances out of so thick a number, *de tot modo millibus unus*, 'few of so many hundreds;' know, we have only taken some eminent persons, leaving the rest for fear to be counted forestallers to the collection of the reader in our ensuing book.

" *But the sons of ministers have never been more successful than when bred in the professions of their fathers, as if some peculiar blessing attended them whilst they continue therein.* Thus, of the prelatical clergy, we have Francis Godwin, a bishop, the son of a bishop; and Doctor John King, son to his reverend father the bishop of London. And of other clergymen we have three generations of the Wards in Suffolk; as many of the Shutes in Yorkshire, no less painful than pious and able in their professions.

" Let me add, that there were at one time three Fellows of King's College, sons of eminent divines, and afterwards Doctors of Divinity: 1. Samuel Collings; 2. Thomas Goad; 3. William Sclater. And I believe there were not severally, in their generations, men more signal in their different eminencies.

" It is easy for any to guess out of what quiver this envenomed arrow was first shot against the children of clergymen; namely, from the Church of Rome; who, in their jurisdiction, forbid the banns of all clergymen, against the law of nature, scripture, and the practice of the primitive Church; and in other places unsubjected

to their power, bespatter the posterity of the clergy with their scandalous tongues."—*Fuller's Worthies of England*, vol. I. pp. 78—80.

In a following chapter of the same work, he says—

"The Church, before the Reformation, advanced many families: for, though bishops might not marry, they preferred their brothers' sons to great estates; as the Kemps in Kent, Peckhams in Sussex, Wickham in Hampshire, Meltons in Yorkshire.

"Since the Reformation, some have raised families to a knightly and worshipful estate; Hutton, Bilson, Dove, Neil, &c. But for sheriffs, I take notice of Sandys in Worcester and Cambridgeshire, Westphaling in Herefordshire, Elmar in Suffolk, Rud in Caermarthenshire, &c.

"Sure I am, there was a generation of people of the last age, which thought they would level all clergymen, or any descendants from them, with the ground. Yea, had not God's arm been stretched out in their preservation, they had become a prey to their enemies' violence, and what they had designed to themselves, and in some manner effected, had ere this time been perfectly completed.

"As for the inferior clergy, it is well if their narrow maintenance will enable them to leave a livelihood to their little ones. I find but one, Robert Johnson by name, attaining such an estate, that his grandson was pricked sheriff of a county, but declined the place, by pleading himself a deacon, and by the favour of Archbishop Laud."—*Ibid.* vol. I. p. 96, (Lond. 1840).

The testimony of Fuller is very valuable. It shews that the children of the Clergy about the time of the Restoration were only in extraordinary or accidental cases put out to "poor and painful employments;" and it is tolerably certain that the inferior Clergy were even able in general to leave something to their children.

Beveridge, too, about the same time contemplates that his children may be in some honourable calling or profession. He was then just entering holy orders:

"If I train up my son in the ways of religion, and teach him what it is to keep a conscience void of offence towards God and

towards man; he will then not only have an inward sense of his own duty, but take all possible care to instil it into others, whether children or servants, that are committed to his charge. And these again will do the same to theirs, by teaching them to walk in the same path; till by degrees, the piety and holiness of one man has diffused itself to all succeeding generations."—*Beveridge's Private Thoughts*, pp. 170, 171, (Lond. 1710).

Again, soon after:

"And when they come to years of discretion, capable of doing farther honour and service to God and their country, by some calling or profession, I must be sure to place them in such a one as may be no hindrance to that high and heavenly calling which they have in Christ Jesus, but rather contribute to further and promote it; that, being like tender plants engrafted into the true Vine, they may bring forth much fruit to God's glory, to my comfort, and their own salvation."—*Ibid.* p. 173.

Not long after the Revolution (circa A.D. 1698), Mr. White Kennett wrote a letter to Bishop Stillingfleet, in which he recommended him to apply £10,000 of Sir T. W. Cook's property, of which his lordship had the disposal, to the founding of a distinct school for the sons of the Clergy. In the course of this letter are various incidental allusions to the state of Clergymen's families about that time and rather before it. That many of them were left in a very indifferent condition is manifest, but is equally certain that they did not commonly follow the plough.

"The sons of clergymen (says he) seem generally born to a more than ordinary inclination to letters, and the better deserve some public helps and assistances to cherish and promote that usual bent and impulse of nature. I need not suggest, that the quality and condition of parents does commonly transmit an hereditary genius to their issue.....I might appeal to many instances [of this transmission] in the Corporation of Clergymen's sons established by King Charles II."—*Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. II. p. 404.

Soon afterwards he expresses himself thus:

"As the sons of clergymen may be justly thought more adapted to learning and to orthodoxy; so I am too sure the condition of their friends does more especially require the benefits of charity for the good education of them. For the legal maintenance of the Clergy being for their own lives, and that generally bare competence, does not enable them to make such provision for their children as is commonly made by the laity of all degrees. And what a discouragement is it, that while *many of the* POORER *Clergy indulge the inclination of their sons by breeding them to a good competence of school-learning*, when they should remove them to the University, they cannot there support them; and so out of necessity divert them to mean and unsuitable employs. Especially, if such lads are left minors, their father's blessing dies with them, and they are thrown upon an uncharitable world with hopeful parts, and no dependence.

"The enemies to our blessed Reformation are well known to charge this odium upon the marriage of our Clergy; that their numerous issue are often exposed to neglect and want, and so bring a reproach upon that function to which they were related; whereas the celibacy of Priests would at least have this political effect, that they could not burden the nation by leaving families destitute and poor. Now nothing would sooner stop the mouths of these adversaries than to see a new reformed seminary founded and endowed for the sons of our English Clergy, by whose ingenuous education and competent support the Protestant religion would be more firmly entailed to posterity, and the *son of Priest* would be as honourable in this nation as it is scandalous abroad.

"Many pious and charitable persons of our own communion have been sensible there is no greater object of charity than the families which the poorer Clergy leave behind; and upon this motive there have been *many suitable provisions* made for the widows of deceased ministers. But sure a College for the sons would be of larger extent in doing good than an hospital for the mothers. For one son being so provided, might by degrees be able to provide for a whole family, or at least to encourage and assist them in their other honest ways of living.

"It can scarce be imagined what a life and spirit it would put

into all the rural Clergy, to hear of such a noble and magnificent project. For though very few of them might ever come to any actual benefit by it, yet the hopes and expectations would extend to all. It might possibly have some effect upon the more creditable matches of young divines; their children to be born capable of such provision might be one argument to excuse the defect of better settlement. It would however comfort and relieve the thoughts of many a parson and vicar, charged with a numerous family, to flatter himself that one of his forward boys might come at least to be a member of the Clergy-College, and so rise to a capacity of helping all the rest. It would excite the Clergy to a stricter guard upon their own lives and conversation, when the preferment of a son might depend much upon the father's character. It might encourage them to the preserving and augmenting their libraries when they have the prospect of transmitting them to a child that will understand them. It may have a great many good consequences, and above all other ways and means may in time wipe off that contempt of the Clergy which has been the sin and shame of this latter age."—*Collectanea Curiosa*, vol. II. pp. 304—307.

The reader has now sufficient evidence to judge of the accuracy of Mr. Macaulay's description of the general character of the wives and families of the country Clergy in the latter part of the seventeenth century.

This section shall be concluded with three extracts from Dr. Sprat's Sermon preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Sons of Clergymen, at St. Marylebone, London, Nov. 1678:

"What argument either civil or ecclesiastical can justify, can commend the marriage of churchmen, and vindicate our whole reformation on that account, if this sight be not sufficient to do it? This assembly? The lawful offspring of such marriages, the genuine seed, the proper issue of the Reformation; and, if you permit me to say it, I dare say the honour of it too. An assembly composed of men considerable in all *worthy professions;* eminent in many ways of life, all honest ways, some venerable, some honourable; men favoured by God in your birth, your education, your several stations in this world; so far above what

the adversaries of our Church most maliciously upbraid, so far above contempt or meanness, that you are plentifully blessed by our gracious God with abilities; and, which is more, endowed by him with hearts too to do good to others."—*Sprat's Sermon*, pp. 2, 3.

Again:

"'Tis an evident observation, that no other one race, not the sons of any one other profession, not perhaps all together, are so much scattered amongst all professions, all ways of life, as the sons of clergymen alone. Of most others the children are commonly bred up in their father's way: or so plentifully provided for that they are left at large; some few permitted to venture on the Church. But with churchmen 'tis far otherwise: their children, we see, flow abroad, are confined to none, overspread all our ways of breeding and life; our shops, our schools, our universities, our inns of court, our college of physicians, our towns, our country, our court, our cities; this court, this city especially."—*Ibid.* pp. 32, 33.

And to take one more passage in conclusion:

"Though it should be true, as I fear it is, that never any time since the Reformation can shew so many poor among the widows and orphans of churchmen, as this particular time; yet I believe it to be as true, and we ought to rejoice at it, that God in his mercy has now more than ever provided and pointed out a proportionable supply for them within ourselves. As more clergymen were impoverished by the calamities of the late war and oppression of the Church and State than ever in the like space before, so I think it may be said without envy, (I am sure, if this work proceeds, it may) that more clergymen or their heirs than ever in one time before, since they were allowed marriage, have been brought to a plentiful and prosperous condition by his majesty's and with him the Church's most happy restoration."—*Ibid.* pp. 41, 42.

SECTION VII.

OF THE CLERGYMAN'S LIBRARY AND STUDIES.

MR. MACAULAY, speaking of the country Clergyman generally, describes his literary opportunities as follows:—

"Study he found impossible: for the advowson of his living would hardly have sold for a sum sufficient to purchase a good theological library; and he might be considered as unusually lucky if he had ten or twelve dogeared volumes among the pots and pans on his shelves. Even a keen and strong intellect might be expected to rust in so unfavourable a situation."—*Macaulay's Hist. of Eng.* vol. I. p. 330.

From the above graphic account it should seem that in general the library of the country parson was considerably short of ten volumes. At first sight it may appear that it is justified by Eachard's statement, from which it is no doubt taken:

"As for books, he is (for want of money) so moderately furnished that except it be a small Geneva bible, so small as it will not be desired to lie open of itself, together with a certain Concordance thereunto belonging; as also a book for all kind of Latin sentences, called *Polyanthea*, with some exposition upon the Catechism (a portion of which is to be got by heart and to be put off for his own); and perhaps Mr. Caryl upon *Pineda*, Mr. Dod upon the Commandments, and Mr. Clark's Lives of famous men both in Church and State, such as Mr. Carter of Norwich, that used to eat such abundance of pudding: besides these, I say, there is scarce anything to be found but a budget of old stitched sermons, hung up behind the door."—*The Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy, &c.* pp. 106, 107.

Now let it be remembered that Eachard is not speaking of the country Clergy generally, but of those who "are pinched as to the tolerable conveniences of life." In one of his answers to an opponent (who, like Mr. Macaulay, concludes what Eachard says of a few to be meant of all, though he could not believe that such an account could be generally true) he expresses himself in these words:

"The case is this (or as you are pleased to read it, *the ball of contention*), Whether there may not be *here and there* a clergyman so ignorant, as that it might be wished that he were wiser. For my own part I went and guessed at random, and *thought there might be one or so:* but my adversary holds and maintains not only that there is not so much as one now in the whole nation, but shews it to be impossible that there ever was one, or ever shall be one."—*A Letter to the Author of the Vindication of the Clergy from T. B.* [*Eachard*], p. 234, (Lond. 1685).

The truth is, that Eachard was speaking of the very worst cases he knew of; and was endeavouring, through an innate love of drollery, to make the very worst of those bad cases: Mr. Macaulay seizes upon these extreme and colored cases, and makes it out that these unfortunates were the "unusually lucky" ones of the whole body! In a word, Eachard's droll minimum is Mr. Macaulay's serious maximum. The inkstand and the concordance seem (according to him) to have been the average furniture of the country parson's library, (p. 330).

However let us look at Eachard himself. His observations (strained as they always are) naturally gave offence to many, and amongst the number to the author of a tract which was written in reply to his own, "wherein is contained a Sober Vindication of the Clergy of England from the imputation of folly and ignorance." Eachard, in reply to this pamphlet, maintains that his words had been supposed to mean more than he meant by them.

"Neither, sir, was I altogether ignorant how much the *ordinary* sort of our English Clergy do *far excel* in learning the common priests of the Church of Rome."—*Some Observations upon the Answer to an Enquiry into the Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy*, 5th edit. p. 41.

And argues that

"The answerer *taking no great delight in understanding what I meant*, on he goes (p. 25) most historically shewing that the English Clergy since the beginning of Queen Elizabeth's reign *is much improved*."—*Ibid.* p. 41.

But if any one would like to see a little more from Eachard, he may know that Plato, Plutarch, and Cicero, as well as works of theology, were not very uncommon in country parsons' libraries. Speaking of the unreasonable grounds of contempt of the Clergy, he writes thus:

"In the first place comes rattling home from the Universities the young pert Soph, with his *atoms* and *globuli*; and as full of disdain and defiance of all country parsons (*let them be never so learned* and prudent) and as confident and magisterial, as if he had been prolocutor at the first Council at Nice. And he wonders very much that they will pretend to be gownsmen, whereas he cannot see so much as Cartes' *Principles* nor Gassendus' *Syntagma* lying upon the table; and that they are all so sottish and stupid as not to sell *all their libraries*, and send presently away for a *whole waggon-full* of the new philosophy." [*Qu?* Would the price of "ten or twelve dogeared volumes" have realised money to purchase "a waggon full" of new books?] "*I'll tell you, sir*, (says one of these small whifflers, perhaps to a grave, sober, and judicious divine) *the University is strangely altered since you were there: we are grown strangely inquisitive and ingenious. I pray, sir, how went the business of motion in your days? we hold it all now to be violent. I hear your old dull friend Aristotle drowned himself, because he could not understand the flux and reflux of the sea*, &c.....Yes, but for all that, this youth of so much worth, ingenuity, inquisitiveness, and demonstration, may be very ignorant, and be very much a coxcomb, and have so little grounds to contemn so worthy a person, that if

the gentleman please to carry him into his study, and shew him his *Plato, Plutarch, and some other of his Greek authors*, the poor thing perhaps may find as much reason to hang himself, as Aristotle did for disposing himself otherwise; for he never stands to consider whether there be authors, such as Euclid, Tully, Plutarch, and many others that have been for many generations of constant fame, and are likely so to continue; whereas we find that curiously laid hypotheses have their periods, and their credit much depends upon the humour of the world: *and a country divine that is well skilled in those books, together with such as peculiarly belong to his profession, may deserve very good respect and be of great use in the world."—Ibid.* p. 173—176, (9th edit.)

It will now probably be deemed almost a work of supererogation to prove that books and libraries were pretty liberally scattered among the country Clergy. If any one however would wish to form a notion of the actual state of letters among the country Clergy, let him consult Thoresby's *Diary*. From this work it will be manifest that wherever that celebrated antiquary went, the Clergy in the towns and in the country were the men with whom he associated, to whom he was in the habit of communicating his researches, and from whose manuscripts he took notes. For example, on January 25, 1683, he has left it recorded in his *Diary* as follows:

"Morning went to Wakefield, thence with Mr. R. Beavot to Ackworth, where kindly entertained by honest parson Bolton, *whose library kept me company some hours.*"

Or again, to take Walker's account of the sufferings of the parochial Clergy not then prebendaries (many of whom were restored under Charles II.), notices are numerous of the plunder of their libraries: sometimes he remarks their skill in the writings of the Greek and Latin Fathers, sometimes in the Oriental or other languages, sometimes in other branches of polite literature. Mr. Chase had manuscripts

and a library, which last he estimated at £500. Mr. Willington's library was worth £600. Mr. Raynolds was plundered of plate, goods, books, and papers, to the value of £1500. Mr. Jones lost 'a study of books which were of great value.' Dr. Seward was deprived of his manuscripts and 'of his study of books which was very valuable.'*

In Bull's neighbourhood too it is probable that there was no great want of country Clergymen of good learning. While he was rector of Suddington in Glocestershire, his manner of life is described as follows:

"I cannot find that after he entered into holy orders he was ever addicted to any innocent pleasure, which is often necessary to unbend the mind, and to preserve the body in health and vigour. If there was any thing that looked like a diversion, it was the enjoyment of agreeable conversation: the best that neighbourhood afforded he was always master of, because he was a welcome guest wherever he made any visits. But what he chiefly loved was to receive learned and good men at his own house, especially those of his own profession."—*Nelson's Life of Bull*, p. 84.

Let us note in conclusion the amount of acquirements which were expected from the Clergy generally in the 17th century. Herbert supposes the country parson to have read a great part of the Fathers, schoolmen, and later writers.† Various places in Barrow's Sermons imply that the Clergy of his time were commonly men of study, of which a single specimen will suffice: he says—

"They may reasonably be presumed more intelligent and skilful in divine matters than others; for as they have the same natural capacities and endowments with others (or rather commonly somewhat better than others, as being designed and selected to this sort of employment), so their natural abilities are by all possible means improved: it is their trade and faculty, unto which their

* Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, vol. II. pp. 217, 400, 340, 280, 269.
† Herbert's *Country Parson*, cc. 5, 9; see also cc. 21, 23.

education is directed: in acquiring ability toward which they spend their time, their care, their pains; in which they are continually versed and exercised (having, as the Apostle speaketh, by reason of use, their senses exercised to discern both good and evil), for which also they employ their supplications and devotions to God.

"Many special advantages they hence procure, needful or very conducible to a more perfect knowledge of such matters, and to security from errors; such as are conversing with studies which enlarge a man's mind and improve his judgment; a skill of disquisition about things, of sifting and canvassing points coming under debate; of weighing the force of arguments, and distinguishing the colours of things; the knowledge of languages in which the divine oracles are expressed, of sciences, of histories, of practices serving to the discovery and illustration of the truth: exercise in meditation, reading, writing, speaking, disputing and conference, whereby the mind is greatly enlightened, and the reason strengthened; acquaintance with variety of learned authors, who with great diligence have expounded the Holy Scriptures, and with most accuracy discussed points of doctrine; especially with ancient writers, who living near the Apostolical times, and being immediately (or within few degrees mediately) their disciples, may justly be supposed most helpful toward informing us what was their genuine doctrine, what the true sense of their writings: by such means, as in other faculties so in this of Theology, a competent skill may be obtained; there is no other ordinary or probable way; and no extraordinary way can be trusted, now that men appear not to grow learned or wise by special inspiration or miracle; after that all pretences to such by-ways have been detected of imposture, and do smell too rank of hypocrisy.

"Since then our guides are so advantageously qualified to direct us, it is in matters difficult and doubtful (the which require good measure of skill and judgment to determine about them) most reasonable that we should rely upon their authority, preferring it in such cases to our private discretion; taking it for more probable, that they should comprehend the truth than we (unassisted by them, and judging merely by our own glimmering light) can do; deeming it good odds on the side of their doctrine against our opinion or conjecture."—*Barrow's Sermon on Hebr.* XIII. 17, part IV. *Works*, vol. iii. pp. 299, 300, (Lond. 1686).

That there may be no doubt as to the persons who are here intended, the author tells us in the first part of his Sermon—

"As to the persons unto whom obedience is to be performed, they are, generally speaking, all spiritual guides or governors of the Church," *i.e.* bishops, priests, and deacons, pp. 269, 274.

Barrow has doubtless drawn a somewhat more favourable picture of the spiritual guides of the time than is true of the generality of them; but is it credible that such a description should have been penned by such a man, had the general character of the Clergy been anything at all like that which Mr. Macaulay has drawn? Or is it conceivable that South could have drawn such a contrast between the fanatical ministers and the English Clergy as is subjoined, had not the generality of the latter been tolerably well informed?

"I cannot see how to be a butcher, scavenger, or any such trade does at all qualify men for this work [the ministry]. But as unfit as they were, yet to clear a way for such into the ministry, we have had almost all sermons full of gibes and scoffs at human learning. 'Away with vain philosophy!' &c.....Will a man exhaust his livelihood upon books, and his health and the best part of his life upon study, to be at length thrust into a poor village, where he shall have his due precariously, and entreat for his own? and when he has it, live poorly and contemptibly upon it, while the same or less labour bestowed upon any other calling would bring not only comfort but splendour; not only maintenance but abundance? It is, I confess, the duty of ministers to endure this condition; but neither religion nor reason does oblige either them to approve or others to choose it."—*South's Sermons*, vol. I. pp. 67, 70, 71, (Lond. 1843).

Passages from other discourses of those times might be multiplied indefinitely. Still however it will be said perhaps that sermons are somewhat given to be declamatory and exaggerated. Let us then take the deliberate judgment of several

celebrated divines as to the literary requirements of a parish priest; that of Bishop Bull first:

"He was much troubled when he was under a necessity of ordaining persons who were but meanly qualified, which could not be avoided sometimes in that country (Wales) where the Clergy are so meanly provided for. When he had admitted persons into orders of a more liberal education and of some sufficiency as to their fortunes, he advised and recommended the reading of the Fathers of the Church, next to the Holy Scriptures, at least those of the three first centuries. This degree of skill and acquaintance with primitive antiquity, he looked upon not only as useful but absolutely necessary to support the character of a priest."—*Nelson's Life of Bull*, p. 428.

Burnet's requisite theological course is somewhat different, yet it would now-a-days be thought by no means contemptible.

"So far have I dispatched the first and chief part of the preparation necessary before orders. The other branch of it relates to their learning and to the knowledge that is necessary. I confess I look upon this as so much inferior to the other, and have been convinced by so much experience, that a great measure of piety, with a very small proportion of learning, will carry one a great way, that I may perhaps be thought to come as far short in this as I might seem to exceed in the other. I will not here enter into a discourse of Theological learning, of the measure that is necessary to make a complete divine, and of the methods to attain it. I intend only to lay down here that which I look on as the lowest degree, and as that which seems indispensably necessary to one that is to be a priest. He must then understand the New Testament well. This is the text of our religion, that which we preach and explain to others; therefore a man ought to read this so often over, that he may have an idea of the whole book in his head, and of all the parts of it. He cannot have this so sure, unless he understands the Greek so well as to be able to find out the meaning of every period in it, at least of the words and phrases in it; any book of annotations or paraphrase upon it is a great help to a beginner. Grotius, Hammond, and Lightfoot are the best.

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"Bishop Pearson on the Creed is a book of great learning and profound exactness. Dr. Barrow has opened it with more simplicity, and Dr. Towerson more practically; one or other of these must be well read and considered: but when I say read, I mean read and read over again, so oft that one is master of one of these books; he must write notes out of them, and make abridgments of them; and turn them so oft in his thoughts that he must thoroughly understand and well remember them. He must read also the Psalms over so carefully, that he may at least have a general notion of those divine hymns; to which Bishop Patrick's Paraphrase will help to carry him.

"A System of Divinity must be read with exactness. They are almost all alike: When I was young, Wendelin and Maresius were the two shortest and fullest.

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"I would advise him that studies divinity, to read two larger bodies, writ by some eminent men of both sides; and because the latest are commonly the best, Turrettin for the whole Calvinist hypothesis and Limburgh for the Arminian, will make a man fully the master of all the notions of both sides. Or if one would see how far middle ways may be taken, the Theses of Saumur or Le Blanc's Theses will complete him in that. These books well read, digested into abstracts, and frequently reviewed or talked over by two companions in study, will give a man an entire view of the whole body of divinity.

"But by reason of that pest of Atheism, that spreads so much among us, the foundations of religion must be well laid: Bishop Wilkins' Book of Natural Religion will lead one in the first steps through the principles he has laid together in a plain and natural method. Grotius, his book of the Truth of the Christian Religion, with his notes upon it, ought to be read and almost got by heart. The whole controversy both of Atheism and Deism, the arguments both for the Old and New Testament, are fully opened, with a great variety both of learning and reasoning, in Bishop Stillingfleet's Origines Sacræ.

"There remains only to direct a student how to form right notions of practical matters; and particularly of preaching. Dr. Hammond's Practical Catechism is a book of great use, but not to be begun with as too many do; it does require a good deal of previous

study before the force of his reasoning is apprehended, but when one is ready for it, it is a rare book, and states the grounds of morality and of our duty upon true principles. To form one to understand the right method of preaching, the extent of it, and the proper ways of application, Bishop Sanderson, Mr. Faringdon, and Dr. Barrow are the best and the fullest models. There is a vast variety of other sermons, which may be read with an equal measure of advantage and pleasure. And if from the time that one resolves to direct his studies towards the Church, he would every Lord's-day read two sermons of any good preacher, and turn them over a little in his thoughts, this would insensibly in two or three years' time carry him very far, and give him a large view of the different ways of preaching, and furnish him with materials for handling a great many texts of scripture when he comes to it.

" And thus I have carried my student through those studies that seem to me so necessary for qualifying him to be an able minister of the New Testament, that I cannot see how any article of this can be well abated. It may seem strange that in this whole direction I have said nothing concerning the study of the Fathers or Church History. But I said at first, that a great distinction was to be made between what was necessary to prepare a man to be a priest, and what was necessary to make him a complete and learned divine." —*Burnet's Pastoral Care,* [written A.D. 1692] chap. vii.

How could such requirements have entered into the conception of any sane man in a state of things where " to study was impossible"?

Or, to take another Bishop:

" Because (says Sprat in his Charge to the Clergy of the Diocese of Rochester, A.D. 1695) I may speak to *some* whose circumstances in this world are not so plentiful as to enable them to purchase large libraries, yet, &c."—*Clergyman's Instructor,* pp. 261, 262. Oxf. 1827.

Again:

" If a clergyman shall resort immediately to the fountain itself .....with a sincere love of truth.....joined with a sufficient skill in the original languages, and in those other introductory studies which no man, if it be not the bishop's fault as well as his

own, can possibly be altogether to seek in; and if withal he shall be assisted with some of the ancient and some few of the modern sound and orthodox commentaries, he will in all human probability be.....a workman that needeth not to be ashamed."—*Ibid.* p. 261.

It is particularly to be noticed that these directions are given to the less learned Clergy, in cases—

"Where multitudes of fathers, councils, schoolmen, histories *are wanting*, which are all very beneficial helps where they can be had." —*Ibid.* p. 261.

In conclusion, let us have the opinion of a most learned layman, Henry Dodwell:

"In these letters the reader may discern his singular piety, while he discourses of the ends of the ministerial function; his serious deep thoughts of the momentousness of this sacred office; and his great learning, when he gives directions for theological studies, and the authors he advises young divines to read. He shews what obligations they that intend to take holy orders have, seriously to consider the weight of this office; to have pure designs and truly pious ends in undertaking it; viz. the service of God, and the salvation of souls; to be prepared to perform the most self-denying duties, and cheerfully to suffer the greatest troubles that may befal them in the faithful discharge of their duty, and not be discouraged from the difficulties they must expect to meet with. Also to consider whether they have abilities to fit them for this weighty employment. Here he shews what learning is requisite to this end; viz. that of the Holy Scriptures chiefly, as also that of the fathers of the three first centuries, who best understood the doctrines of the apostles conveyed by unanimous tradition from them; especially when they find those first ages exemplifying Christianity in their holy lives, and in their readiness to suffer tortures and death for Christ's sake. Then he mentions other learning which distinct communions at this time make requisite to be known, in order to the establishing of their flock in the true communion; and also casuistical divinity. He after shews the necessity of prudence, courage, of a sweet and winning and of an exemplary conversation in God's ministers; and also a firm resolution to persist in the discharge of their duty. Then concludes

the first letter, with directions in managing the cure of souls, with respect to particular persons. To this he subjoined a catalogue of the works of the Fathers of the three first centuries, and tells which was the best edition of them."—*Brokesby's Life of Dodwell*, vol. I. pp. 33, 34.

These divines are by no means of the same school: and it is not very likely that they would all agree in giving such directions as could be followed out nowhere but in Utopia.

Let all allowance be made for exceptional cases: in Wales and other semi-barbarous districts there were doubtless many: in Derbyshire Sir T. Browne found the Clergy very ignorant; others too might be found scattered about the country. Young curates again (as Burnet remarks) could not be expected to have many books at first. The London chaplains likewise appear to have had few opportunities for reading, a circumstance which induced Tennison to project a library for their common advantage. Let all allowance be made—and we can well afford to be liberal—for these and all other imaginable cases, yet still there will surely be but one opinion as to Mr. Macaulay's general description of the literary attainments of the rural Clergy.

If it is true of any of them, it can only be applicable to those whose libraries were plundered by the Puritans.

SECTION VIII.

ON MR. MACAULAY'S DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE TOWN AND COUNTRY CLERGY.

THE subject of this section has been reserved till an advanced period of the discussion, because the reader will have had so many facts brought before him incidentally in the preceding sections, that he will now be much better prepared to pass a judgment upon the present question. Mr. Macaulay then writes as follows in reference to it:

"Assuredly there was at that time no lack in the English Church of ministers distinguished by abilities and learning. But it is to be observed that these ministers were not scattered among the rural population. They were brought together at a few places where the means of acquiring knowledge were abundant, and where the opportunities of vigorous intellectual exercise were frequent.* At such places were to be found divines qualified by parts, by eloquence, by wide knowledge of literature, of science, and of life, to defend their Church victoriously against heretics and sceptics.....These eminent men were to be found, with scarce a single exception, at the universities, at the great cathedrals, or in the capital. Barrow had lately died at Cambridge; and Pearson had gone thence to the episcopal bench. Cudworth and Henry More were still living there. South and Pococke, Jane and Aldrich, were at Oxford. Prideaux was in the close of Norwich, and Whitby in the close of Salisbury. But it was chiefly by the London clergy, who were always spoken of as a class apart, that the fame of their profession for learning and eloquence was upheld. The principal pulpits of the metropolis

* This distinction between country clergy and town clergy is strongly marked by Eachard, and cannot but be observed by every person who has studied the ecclesiastical history of that age.—*Mr. Macaulay's Note.*

were occupied about this time by a crowd of distinguished men, from among whom was selected a large proportion of the rulers of the Church. Sherlock preached at the Temple, Tillotson at Lincoln's Inn, Wake and Jeremy Collier at Gray's Inn, Burnet at the Rolls, Stillingfleet at St. Paul's Cathedral, Patrick at St. Paul's, Covent Garden, Fowler at St. Giles's, Cripplegate, Sharp at St. Giles's-in-the-Fields, Tennison at St. Martin's, Sprat at St. Margaret's, Beveridge at St. Peter's in Cornhill. Of these twelve men, all of high note in ecclesiastical history, ten became bishops, and four archbishops. Meanwhile almost the only important theological works which came forth from a rural parsonage were those of George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's; and Bull never would have produced those works, had he not inherited an estate, by the sale of which he was enabled to collect a library, such as probably no other country clergyman in England possessed.*

Thus the Anglican priesthood was divided into two sections, which, in acquirements, in manners, and in social position, differed widely from each other. One section, trained for cities and courts, comprised men familiar with all ancient and modern learning..... The other section was destined to ruder and humbler service. It was dispersed over the country, and consisted chiefly of persons not at all wealthier, and not much more refined, than small farmers or upper servants.....The very consciousness that there was little in his worldly circumstances to distinguish him from the villagers to whom he preached led him to hold immoderately high the dignity of that sacerdotal office which was his single title to reverence. Having lived in seclusion, and having had little opportunity of correcting his opinions by reading or conversation, he held and taught the doctrines of indefeasible hereditary right, of passive obedience, and of nonresistance in all their crude absurdity."—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. I. p. 330-333.

Before adducing any fresh proofs, let me request the reader to consider the facts which have already transpired, or which lie immediately within his reach. He has seen what literary attainments have been looked upon

* Nelson's Life of Bull.—*Mr. Macaulay's Note.*

as necessary for every clergyman by various prelates; he has seen the state of school and university education (and it was a standing rule at the time of which we are treating, that, except for some special reason, no one should be ordained without an university degree)*; and he has seen that country Clergymen had sometimes rather more than a dozen volumes on their shelves. He may also see by the most cursory inspection of Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, that good or fair livings were scattered over the whole country; and may find very numerous instances of priests of ancient and respectable family officiating in all parts. He may also remember that some few instances have been adduced of country clergymen (not themselves titled) marrying the daughters of noblemen, baronets, and knights, and may easily find a considerable number of others who married women of good family.† He may also bear in mind that the patronage in the gift of the universities would be distributed (to speak generally) among their more distinguished members. Besides, it is *à priori* incredible that there should be so great an interval between the learned university and city Clergy, and between the clownish country parsons, with almost no links to connect the two classes, as Mr. Macaulay contends.

Although these considerations alone are almost sufficient to shew that there can be no such distinction between the town and country Clergy, as he endeavours to establish; yet still the following passage from a letter of Sir T. Browne shall be adduced, written in November 1661:

"Our bishop Dr. Reynolds, my loving friend, hath been in Norwich these three months; he preacheth often and comes constantly to Christchurch on Sunday mornings at the beginning of prayers, about which time the Aldermen also come; he sitteth in

* See Cardwell's *Documentary Annals*, vol. II. pp. 304, 305, &c.

† See Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, passim; to say nothing of numerous instances scattered among other books.

his seat against the pulpit, handsomely built up, and in his episcopal vestments, and pronounceth the Blessing or the Peace of God, &c. at the end: where there is commonly a very numerous congregation and an excellent sermon by some preacher of the Combination, appointed out of Norfolk and Suffolk, the one for winter, the other for summer."—*Sir T. Browne's Works*, vol. I. p. 14.

This, however, only applies to the diocese of Norwich. In the following passage Burnet gives such an account of the state of the Clergy generally throughout the nation in 1686, as is perfectly incompatible with any such ignorance as Mr. Macaulay has ascribed to them. With regard to Burnet's remark 'past errors,' the reader may see a very different view of the matter taken in the passage from Kettlewell's Life, which is cited in my first section. Burnet's *facts* are important: with regard to his *opinions* we can all form our own judgments:

"Many of the clergy acted now a part that made good amends for past errors. They began to preach generally against popery, which the Dissenters did not. They set themselves to study the points of controversy. And upon that there followed a great variety of small books, that were easily purchased and soon read. They examined all the points of Popery with a solidity of judgment, a clearness of arguing, a depth of learning, and a vivacity of writing, far beyond any thing that had before that time appeared in our language. The truth is, they were very unequally yoked: for, if they are justly to be reckoned among the best writers that have yet appeared on the Protestant side, those they wrote against were certainly among the weakest that had ever appeared on the Popish side. Their books were poorly but insolently writ; and had no other learning in them, but what was taken out of some French writers, which they put into very bad English; so that a victory over them might have been but a mean performance.

"This had a mighty effect on the whole nation: even those who could not search things to the bottom, yet were amazed at the great inequality that appeared in this engagement. The Papists, who knew what service the Bishop of Meaux's book had done

in France, resolved to pursue the same method here in several treatises, which they entitled *Papists represented and misrepresented*; to which such clear answers were writ, that what effects soever that artifice might have, where it was supported by the authority of a great King, and the terror of ill-usage, and a dragoonade in conclusion, yet it succeeded so ill in England, that it gave occasion to enquire into the true opinions of that Church, not as some artful writers had disguised them, but as they were laid down in the books that are of authority among them, such as the decisions of councils received among them, and their established offices, and as they are held at Rome, and in all those countries where Popery prevails without any intermixture with heretics, or apprehension of them, as in Spain and Portugal. This was done in so authentical a manner, that Popery itself was never so well understood by the nation as it came to be upon this occasion.

"The persons, who both managed and directed this controversial war, were chiefly Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Tennison, and Patrick. Next them were Sherlock, Williams, Claget, Gee, Aldrich, Atterbury, Whitby, Hooper, and above all these Wake, who having been long in France, chaplain to the Lord Preston, brought over with him many curious discoveries that were both useful and surprising. Besides the chief writers of those books of controversy, there were many sermons preached and printed on those heads, that did very much edify the whole nation."—*Burnet's Own Time*, vol. III. pp. 1148–1150.

It is no doubt true that in the Universities, in the Cathedral Closes, and in the Metropolis, a much larger number of great and learned men would be found than elsewhere. This has always been the case, it would be truly marvellous if it were at any time otherwise. Places of this kind being furnished with munificent libraries, and being the abodes of men of distinction, naturally draw to themselves a large body of the more literary Clergy. It is also perfectly true that at London the fame of the preachers was very high: "I have lately heard," says an anonymous writer in 1686 to Mr. Ellis, "there never were such eminently able men to serve

in those (*i.e.* the London) cures;" (Ellis' *Original Letters* Second Series, vol. IV. p. 84). Words to the same effect occur in Burnet, and doubtless in many other writers. Yet still they were not (I believe) spoken of as 'a class apart' in any such sense as that which Mr. Macaulay implies; they were not spoken of as the only or even the principally gentlemanlike class of Clergy, or indeed in any strict sense as a separate body. Archbishop Tennison in 1699 says that he does not doubt but that many of the parochial Clergy are sufficiently sensible both of their own duty and the danger we are in:

"In the cities of London and Westminster *and other places* I am sure (he adds) the good effects of their diligence have been very evident of late years."—*Cardwell's Documentary Annals*, vol. II. pp. 347, 348.

No doubt then a distinction did exist between the Academical, Cathedral, and City Clergy on the one side, and between the rural Clergy on the other: the distinction being precisely this, that the former were as a whole more literary, and more wealthy than the other class taken as a whole. It is superfluous to add that the same distinction obtains at this day.

Mr. Macaulay truly observes that Eachard draws a distinction between the town and country Clergy. He does so, but makes no such distinction as Mr. Macaulay lays down. As he has appealed to Eachard, the following passage from that writer shall be cited:

"After this, sir, he returns triumphantly to the College, not only very full of the vanquishment of the minister of the town, but also thoroughly confirmed in what he has so often heard, that all country parsons, be they who they will, are the strangest and most mean things that belong to the earth. *But why so fast, dear child?* Is it impossible that the word *parson*, especially if you put COUNTRY before it, should admit of any milder signification?

And is it necessary that every man, though of very good worth and knowledge, if once he be settled out of the noise of the Bells, and does not every day see the Schools, should presently grow deaf and blind, lose all his memory and parts, and general ignorance should suddenly surprise him, so soon as he moves his name off the tables? Perhaps it is but a report; and I do not apprehend but a gentleman may understand as well at Barnet, as at his lodgings in Lincoln's-Inn-fields; neither does he find any such present decay and wasting of parts, so soon as his coach gets off the stones, nor such great improvement of himself, when he is coming down Highgate-hill."—*Some Observations upon the Answer to an Enquiry into the Grounds and Occasions of the Contempt of the Clergy, &c.*, (5th edit.) pp. 177, 178.

This citation is tolerably conclusive; but if any one is not satisfied, let him consult the work, and he will find several pages together immediately following, written in the same strain, in which he takes occasion to shew that the Clergy were no less skilled in natural science than in Greek philosophy.

On Mr. Macaulay's hypothesis, it must of course have been impossible that the country Clergy should be able to produce any works of consequence, or to speak more truly any works at all: seeing that he who possessed a dozen volumes was an unusually fortunate parson. And as this must be so in the nature of things, even so in Mr. Macaulay's story we find that it was so; or at least nearly so:

"Meanwhile *almost* the only important theological works which came forth from a rural parsonage were those of George Bull, afterwards Bishop of St. David's; and Bull never would have produced those works, had he not inherited an estate, by the sale of which he was enabled to collect a library, such as probably no other country clergyman in England possessed."

'*Almost*' is an elastic adverb, and it will require stretching to the utmost. To begin with Mr. Macaulay's twelve London preachers, two of them at least produced works of importance

in rural parsonages before they were removed to London. Beveridge then was collated to the Vicarage of Yealing, Jan. 4, 1660, and left it when he was admitted to the Rectory of St. Peter's, Cornhill, London, Nov. 22, 1672, (*Newcourt*, vol. I. p. 93, ed. 1708). Now, to say nothing of his *Institutiones Chronologicæ*, published in London 1669, he here brought out two huge folios, his *Pandectæ Canonum*, an additional work of great value, and which is always priced now-a-days at several guineas. Patrick again was at Battersea from 1658–1662. His *Jewish Hypocrisy* is dated from Battersea (1660): here also he composed two of his best known works, his *Mensa Mystica* (1658), and his *Heart's Ease* (1659). If it be objected that Battersea was near London, it must be remembered that Chelsea was at that time a country village (*Macaulay*, vol. I. p. 350). Again, Archdeacon Fullwood's *Roma Ruit*, one of the most important theological productions of the time, was composed in 1679 in a rural parsonage.

Kettlewell, one of the most considerable writers of the period, composed at Coleshill his *Help and Exhortation to Worthy Communicating*, in 1682; and his *Practical Believer* at the same place in 1687. Towerson's standard work too on the *Church Catechism* (of which, as we have seen, Burnet speaks so highly), was composed in a country parsonage at Wellwynne, Herts. (1678–1685). Fuller in 1658 was presented to the Rectory of Cranford, and he was buried in the church there, in August 1661. Here he composed his *Worthies*; and Pepys, in his *Diary*, Jan. 21, 1661, mentions conversing with him upon it: it was not published till after his death, and it was then in an unpolished state. Scrivener, a priest, composed in 1672, '*Intra Privatos Parietes*,' a sterling work in vindication of the Fathers against Daillé, entitled *Apologia pro S. Ecclesiæ Patribus adversus Johannem Dallæum de Usu Patrum*. Puller's *Moderation of the Church*

of England (which has been lately re-edited) was composed at Sawcombe, Herts., and published in April 1679: before he was presented in the September of the same year to the Rectory of St. Mary-le-Bow (*Newcourt*, vol. I. p. 440, edit. 1708). Sherlock, Rector of Winwick after the Restoration, was the author of the *Practical Christian*, commended most highly by Bishop Wilson, which reached the sixth edition in 1713; he died before the Revolution. John Norris, a writer greatly admired by the lovers of Metaphysical Theology, produced at Bemerton in 1691, his *Discourses on Divine Subjects:* and in 1690, at Newton-St.-Loc, his *Discourses on the Beatitudes*, which reached the third edition in 1694.

All the above works certainly deserve to be called important; some of them are first-rate. Others too there are which well deserve to be mentioned, though perhaps inferior to the foregoing. I shall only name a few of the authors, and designedly omit others of less consequence. Walker then is described by Wood, in the *Athenæ Oxonienses*, as very useful in his generation: he wrote many works, of which the *Doctrine of Baptisms* is perhaps the most important; it is dated Colsterworth, near Grantham. The works too of the following parochial Clergymen are much commended by Walker in his *Sufferings of the Clergy:* Fulman, Bentham, Samwaies, and Vaughan. Bragge and Falkner also were authors of respectability; to say nothing of a great number of minor publications which indicate their authors to have been men of good education.

SECTION IX.

ON THE INTERCOURSE OF THE CLERGY WITH THE GENTRY.

THIS is a subject on which we must be very short: after what has been already proved, it is well-nigh superfluous to say anything.

Mr. Macaulay represents the generality of the Clergy as not being gentlemen, as not associating with gentlemen, and as being condemned to menial services, in the two following passages among others:

"The coarse and ignorant squire, who thought that it belonged to his dignity to have grace said every day at his table by an ecclesiastic in full canonicals, found means to reconcile dignity with economy. A young levite—such was the phrase then in use—might be had for his board, a small garret, and ten pounds a-year, and might not only perform his own professional functions, might not only be the most patient of butts and of listeners, might not only be always ready in fine weather for bowls, and in rainy weather for shovelboard, but might also save the expense of a gardener, or of a groom. Sometimes the reverend man nailed up the apricots, and sometimes he curried the coach horses. He cast up the farrier's bills. He walked ten miles with a message or a parcel. If he was permitted to dine with the family, he was expected to content himself with the plainest fare. He might fill himself with the corned beef and the carrots: but, as soon as the tarts and cheesecakes made their appearance, he quitted his seat, and stood aloof till he was summoned to return thanks for the repast, from a great part of which he had been excluded."*—*Macaulay's History of England*, vol. I. pp. 327, 328.

* Eachard, Causes of the Contempt of the Clergy; Oldham, Satire addressed to a Friend about to leave the University; Tatler, 255, 258. That the English Clergy were a low born class, is remarked in the Travels of the Grand Duke Cosmo."—*Mr. Macaulay's Note.*

Again :

"It would be a great error to imagine, because the country rector was in general not regarded as a gentleman, because he could not dare to aspire to the hand of one of the young ladies at the manor-house, because he was not asked into the parlours of the great, but was left to drink and smoke with grooms and butlers, that the power of the clerical body was smaller than at present." —*Ibid.* vol. I. p. 333.

The proofs of all this (so far as our present section is concerned) appear to depend on Eachard and Oldham; and on the much later authority of the *Tatler* for November 1710.

The passage from Eachard has been already cited at p. 47 of this treatise. If Mr. Macaulay had not been copying the *Whig under several denominations* instead of Eachard, he would not have represented "an ecclesiastic in full canonicals" as being subjected to such indignities on the authority of the latter.

The passage from Oldham is, it must be admitted, altogether to the point. It runs as follows:

"Little the unexperienced wretch does know
What slavery he oft must undergo;
Who tho' in silken scarf and cassock dress'd,
Wears but a gayer livery at best.
When dinner calls, the implement must wait
With holy words to consecrate the meat,
But hold it for a favour seldom known,
If he be deigned the honour to sit down.
Soon as the tarts appear, Sir Crape, withdraw,
Those dainties are not for a spiritual maw:
Observe your distance, and be sure to stand
Hard by the cistern with your cap in hand;
There for diversion you may pick your teeth,
Till the kind voider comes for your relief.
For mere board wages such their freedom sell,
Slaves to an hour and vassals to a bell.

And if the enjoyment of one day be stole,
They are but prisoners out upon parole:
Always the marks of slavery remain,
And they tho' loose still drag about their chain."

—*Oldham's Works. Satire addressed to a Friend about to leave the University and come abroad into the World,* pp. 281, 282, 7th edit. Lond. 1710.

The reader may attach whatever importance to this passage he considers its writer to deserve: it seems to be an adaptation from Eachard, and to possess no independent value whatever. The *Tatler* had read Oldham, and quotes him at length, and is so utterly ignorant of his character as to call his raillery "the raillery of a friend!" It may be suspected that he was not speaking of his own knowledge (whatever, as an Essayist, he may affect to have seen), but was merely copying Oldham, and writing a humorous paper which no one was expected to believe. However, whether this be so or not, the author undoubtedly considered chaplains to be gentlemen. The following passage makes his sentiments clear:

"In this case I know not which to censure, the patron or the chaplain, the insolence of power, or the abjectness of dependence. For my own part, I have often blushed to see a gentleman, whom I knew to have much more wit and learning than myself, and who was bred up with me at the University upon the same foot of a liberal education, treated in such an ignominious manner, and sunk beneath those of his own rank, by reason of that character which ought to bring him honour. This deters men of generous minds from placing themselves in such a station of life, and by that means frequently excludes persons of quality from the improving and agreeable conversation of a learned and obsequious friend."—*The Tatler*, No. 255.

South and Collier, in various places of their writings, unquestionably imply that chaplains were not always treated with proper respect. This is likely enough; their situation was a very delicate one: but it is not very likely that it was

customary for a chaplain to leave the second and third courses untasted, if he had any inclination to such kickshaws. All Mr. Macaulay's evidence seems to me to resolve itself into that of Eachard only; and if so, the following answer may be given to the whole of it:

"Indeed if our gentry entertain scholars to save a servant's wages (sometimes crowding in the looking after a couple of geldings into the ten pounds a-year), and allow them little more respect than they do their cooks and butlers, or keep the young levite against a small vicarage falls, to put my cousin Abigail fairly off with it, I must confess it to be an intolerable fault.....But there's as little wit as truth in that fetch, that any christened English gentleman should make the same person his own confessor (or companion at least) and the groom of his horses' bedchamber. His tales are not well laid together; for is it not extremely probable that one who rubs his horses' scabby heels should be such excellent company for Sir John, that he forsooth must be called down to say grace to every health? Τῆς ἀναιδείας! What a petulancy of humour is this, to invent such foppish chimeras not only to abuse the Clergy and its candidates, but to disoblige the gentry also into the bargain? But stay! whither will this Chevalier Errant lead me? for like a dog that hath lost the scent, he is continually roving about for new game. You see what a preacher he's likely to make, if ever he be effectually called by some fat benefice, where Henry the Eighth took no toll; for he is quite run from his text; and if you please to call in about seven pages backwards, you'll find him there only preparing his lads for the university, whereas here he hath packed them down into the country again, and makes them stand sighing and picking their teeth, while the knight and my lady are at their dainties. And because he is used to confess every one's faults but his own, I must tell him he forgets himself much, and is preposterous: for had he designed to treat us methodically, our first course should have been school-butter, college-commons the second, and the chickens and tarts reserved till the last: and yet the man is so confident as to say, he now passeth from schooling to the universities."—*A Vindication of the Clergy*, pp. 48–51.

In the Rawdon Papers, in Sir T. Browne's Works, in Mrs. Evelyn's Letters, in the Diaries of Thoresby and Pepys, in Wotton's dedication prefixed to his *Reflections on Ancient and Modern Learning*, and in Nelson's *Life of Bull*, it appears conclusively that chaplains were in the cases therein mentioned well treated, regarded as equals by those who maintained them, that they dined with the family, conversed freely and disputed with the master of the house, were promoted to good preferment, were consulted in cases of difficulty, and kept up a friendly correspondence with the family when they were absent from it.

There seems to be no proof that chaplains, who were perhaps somewhat below the average rank of clergymen, were not in general regarded as gentlemen.

With regard to the Clergy generally associating among gentlemen all over the country, if any one would wish to make a collection of examples of the intercourse of gentry and Clergy, and of their mutual esteem for each other, which he might meet with in all the diaries of the time, in Walker's *Sufferings of the Clergy*, in Clarendon's *Rebellion*, and in perhaps every biography that contains anything applicable to the subject, and in several poems, as well as a collection of the scattered intimations of their being considered gentlemen in the works of Collier, Prideaux, &c., he might, it may be affirmed with confidence, soon collect several hundreds of instances and quotations. Perhaps the two following pieces of banter from Eachard will sufficiently shew that Clergy were in the habit of associating in polite society:

"That which increases the unprovided-for number of the clergy, is people posting into orders before they know their message or business, only out of a certain kind of pride and ambition. Thus some are hugely in love with the mere title of Priest or Deacon; never considering how they shall live, or what good they are likely to do in their office: but only they have a fancy that a

cassock, if it be made long, is a very handsome garment, though it be never paid for; and that the desk is clearly the best, and the pulpit the highest seat in all the parish; that they shall take place of most but esquires and right-worshipfuls."—*The Grounds and Occasions, &c.*, p. 137.

Again:

"But the great destroyers, sir, are still to come; for next appears the modish, grave, and well considering gentleman, that often calls himself to account, and always finds himself full weight and measure, but all the clergy to be very light and contemptible, for several reasons. And in the first place he observes, that divines are a sort of people that mind only the inconsiderable things of this world; they never take notice how this duke's or that lord's livery differs from another; and they will idly suffer many a nobleman's coach to pass by, and never consider the things that is behind, or whether they be horses or mares, English or Flanders. Which of them can tell the private passage out of Covent Garden into —— without asking at the barber's shop? or where the several ambassadors lodge; where they dined yesterday, and where they shall dine tomorrow? And then for the humour of the town, alas! sir, there is not one divine of forty that does or ever can understand anything of it.

. . . . . .

Be not deceived, sir, it is not logic, Metaphysics, Fathers, and Councils, and all the rest, that ever can expect to know or do these things, or half of them. Besides, if we consider the great rudenesses that are ofttimes by Clergymen committed, in barbarous managing of hat, immoral picking of teeth, uncouth and unfashionable sneezing, clownish pronouncing of words, that should have been gracefully lisped, and rude and flat setting both feet upon the ground when one should have stood in tittering readiness upon the toe for a congé; when we consider, I say, these and five and fifty thousand things more, we must plainly conclude that it is only for great head-pieces, men of birth and education, of prudence, and a mighty reach, to pretend to honour and reputation; not for poor unobserving book-men that go in black. Then, to all this must be added, the vast skill that is required to the tendering a visit, with approved and modest accuracy, that it be done punctually at the

critical minute, neither before nor after; that the servant, that comes to the door, be duly spoken to, according to the rule provided in that great affair; that the goloshoes be left in their true and proper place, that the foot-boy be expert in observing his tutored distance, that he gives allowance for summer and winter, and that he never stands exactly behind, but bearing a respectful point or so, north or south of his master. Then having got over all these difficulties and made a suitable address, there is further to be weighed whether the visit is to be a silent visit or a speaking one, and if anything is to be said, whether the visitor is first to open or to expect till discourse be offered, and when and in what order the health of the family is to be enquired into. 'Lack-a-day! says one of the accomplished, in what a lamentable condition I have seen a mortal Clergyman when he has asked for a son or a daughter that has been dead a month; whereas he should have felt out all those things by degrees, and never have run himself into the danger of a stumbling excuse for not knowing of it before; how will his puling conscience be put to it, to rap out presently half a dozen swingers to get off cleverly. But still, sir, there be many things behind; it is no such easy matter, upon my word, to judge how much of the handkerchief shall hang out of the coat pocket and how to poise it exactly with the tortoiseshell comb on the other side; and if there be a peruke to be ordered, where is a man of the Church that can tell when it is to be done to old Simon the king, and when, after the pangs of a desperate lover? Heavens and stars! It is such a task to be considerable, and of any moment in the world, that it would almost crack the brains of the most steady Clergymen, but to hear repeated all the accomplishments that are required to make up a man of worth. But then suppose a divine of extraordinary parts and quickness, and that has got, I know not whence, so much of our modish blood in his veins, as to apprehend in some low degree what makes men for ever blessed, and should arrive to some set forms of being acceptable; how will they make shift for speeches and compliments, passes and repasses, parties and reparties. Put the case, sir, that a fair lady or person of honour, by some chance or other, drops a glove or handkerchief; where is now, say they, your man in orders that can presently snatch it up in an extacy, deliver it with bonne grace, and instantly say something suitable to so great and sudden occasion?"—*Some Obser-*

vations upon the Answer to an Enquiry into the Grounds and Occasions, &c. pp. 183—188.

If a graver authority be required, let the following article be adduced, one of those which Archbishop Sancroft in 1688 recommended to all the Bishops within his metropolitan jurisdiction. It is the eighth of the "heads of things to be more fully insisted upon by the bishops in their addresses to the Clergy and people of their respective dioceses." It runs in these words:

"That they [the Clergy] maintain fair correspondence (FULL OF THE KINDEST RESPECTS OF ALL SORTS) with the gentry and persons of quality in their neighbourhood; as being deeply sensible what seasonable assistance and countenance this poor Church hath received from them in her necessities."—*Cardwell's Docum. Ann.* vol. ii. p. 324.

CONCLUSION.

AN UNEXPECTED REVELATION.

Persons unaccustomed to research, but possessed of a competent knowledge of letters, naturally take pleasure in tracing in the descriptions of a well-read writer some touches of that literature with which they are themselves familiar. Many persons accordingly thought that Fielding's characters had been ushered into the world half a century before they were due; and that his parsons were above all others the real (or at least the really described) Clergymen whom Mr. Macaulay had in his eye. Others bethought themselves of the dramatists: others perhaps had different opinions of their own. But from henceforth there may probably be but one opinion. Many of Mr. Macaulay's readers had doubtless observed that his description of the Clergy opens in these words:

"The rural clergy were EVEN MORE VEHEMENT IN TORYISM THAN THE RURAL GENTRY."

Now it so falls out that there is a portrait of a Clergyman which agrees in some very important particulars with Mr. Macaulay's description, though, indeed, this Clergyman is not wholly unacquainted with Homer, the study of whose language was "by no means necessary" for an Oxford or "a Cambridge divine." His books too, it may be supposed, were sufficiently numerous, if not to place him among "the *unusually* lucky" ones, yet at least in the class of those who might be considered lucky. Abating

these advantages which he possessed over Mr. Macaulay's Tory Clergyman, the resemblance is well-nigh complete. His wife's character too "had been blown upon," and was suspected. Yet this man was so far from exceeding the standard of the gentry's Toryism, that he was actually A WHIG: his description is given as follows, in a pamphlet entitled, *The Character of a Whig under several Denominations; to which is added The Reverse, or the Character of a True Englishman in opposition to the former,* and published without name of author or printer at London in the year 1700. The tract is so rare that its possessor is not aware of the existence of a copy in the public library at Cambridge. The writer had (it need scarcely be said) read Eachard, and almost copies him, except that he applies his knowledge to his own purposes. Apology is due for printing such language as one sentence contains, and it would not have been done but for the absolute necessity of the case. The account is wound up with little else but a history of the sermon, which it would be little to our purpose to introduce, even were it less indecent. Mr. Macaulay too winds up with an account of his parson's violent Tory sermon. Eachard's arrangement is different, and he has nothing to do with politics.

THE CHURCH WHIG, OR THE ECCLESIASTICAL BIFARIUS

"Is the offspring of ignorance and nonconformity, who being dieted a while in a country school, upon rules, exceptions, and tedious repetitions of *Amo's* and *τύπτω's* till he had learned how Phäeton broke his neck; how many apples Tityrus had for his supper; and understood Homer's commendations of Achilles' toes and the Grecian's boots; knew a hexameter from a pentameter, a spondee from a dactyl, and could fit them in that sense to his finger's end; though his parts were contemptible and the purses of his friends at too low an ebb to maintain him like a scholar, to the University he must go for a little logic and ethics, and is predestinated by his relations to be a Clergyman, in hopes that a benefice where Henry the Eighth had not been too busy

with his toll-dish, but that yet there remained some good land, that afforded milk and honey, might be the portion of our juvenile levite. Now that success might answer the desires of his parents, and that the babe of grace might not surfeit on human learning, the tutor employs him in bed-making, chamber-sweeping, and water-fetching, that the sizar's brains might not be overheated with too much vain philosophy. Having sucked in about six or seven mouthfuls of University air, exactly learned to respond to *Quid est logica?* and *Quot sunt virtutes morales?* with Burgurdicius, Eustachius, and such excellent helpmeets in divinity in his coat pocket; down he goes by the first carrier on the top of a pack into the country to propagate the gospel, and by that time he can say his predicaments and his creed you may find him in a pulpit; for now he has the choice of preaching or starving: though it had been ten times better for the lad and the Church that he had been made a tooth-drawer or a porter. Some poor starved vicar, that ne'er could keep a curate in his life, gives him a title to ordination, and then a neighbouring knight takes him into his family at the price of ten pounds a-year, and a Sunday pudding, to perform holy offices and spoil his children by making him their tutor. Being a stranger to the house and a decent behaviour, my cousin Abigail, out of charity and in hope of the benefit of her Clergy, instructs him in the knowledge of a Chaplain's duty, viz. that he must never speak in the parlour but at grace and prayer-time, and be sure with a low bow to rise in time from the table, take away his plate, and march off with his hat under his arm, and cleave a log into billets for the parlour fire, whilst the knight, my lady, and her children eat up the chickens, tarts, and custards, and then calls in the chipling to dismiss them. This obligation upon the young levite gives him a liking to Mrs. Abigail, which she cherishes with the remains of her ladies' caudles and the pills of her China oranges, and lays the foundation of his ruin. To please his mistress, and gain the vicarage that is entailed upon her office by the custom of the manor, he is sometimes found cracking nuts and reading in his study, and having luckily discovered a vacuum in his upper room, he fills it with learned jargon, materia prima, occult qualities and atoms, which the lady of the house observing she breaks out in his commendation, *Truly the young man is much improved since*

he came into our family. The lady's good word, the knight's good-nature, and Mrs. Abigail's apron-strings growing too short, prefers him at once to a benefice and a belly-piece, where the all-wise patron, and the all-understanding adjoining justice being both severe and sour whigs, the chipling, to gain their favours and re-assume what he was bred to, sets up for a *Church Whig* also, and leaves nothing unattempted that may shew his respects to the dissenting party. Now he sets up for a conforming dissenter, and carries the fair outside of a man, and is an arrant knave in his heart: one that indifferently divides his body and his soul betwixt right and wrong: the government has his head and purtenances, and the schism his affections."—*The Character of a Whig under several Denominations; to which is added the Reverse, or the Character of a true Englishman in opposition to the former,* pp. 72–75, Lond. 1700.

So it seems,

"Quem quærimus, hic est."

Even so:

"Here our solemn search hath end."

It was a bold and perhaps not very politic stroke of Mr. Macaulay to take the above description, reproduce it *mutatis mutandis,* and apply it to the Tory Clergy. And all this not in an avowed work of fiction, but in a professed History of England. Some may consider the fraud pious; all must confess its conception facetious: but his joke, once discovered, is at the expense of the author and his history.

APPENDIX.

On Mr. Macaulay's Character of the Gentry.

"My notion," says Mr. Macaulay, "of the country gentleman of the seventeenth century has been derived from sources too numerous to be recapitulated. I must leave my description to the judgment of those who have studied the history and the lighter literature of that age."—(Vol. I. p. 324).

These things being so, it becomes more difficult to decompose Mr. Macaulay's description into its original elements. However, it may perhaps be possible to discover one source of his information. In *The Character of a Whig under several Denominations* is an account of *the senseless upstart Whig country gentleman*, occupying ten pages (pp. 62—72). The writer had in view some Whig gentleman of the day; for he adds at the end of his account, "If this don't reform him and cause him to make restitution, the next setting shall produce his *effigies* more to the life than this is, and give you his name in words at length, and not in figures." I shall put down in one column passages of his description as given in this pamphlet, and in the other column print select sentences of Mr. Macaulay's description of the Tory aristocracy, which will be found in his third chapter (pp. 319—324).

The Whig, &c.	*Macaulay's History of England.*
The senseless, upstart, WHIG COUNTRY GENTLEMAN is an animal begot betwixt enthusiastic dulness and sophisticated reason.	The gross uneducated, untravelled country gentleman was commonly A TORY.
With a soul full of hypocrisy, a heart full of treachery, a mouth full of commendation of Oliver's usurpation, and lies against the present court.	Though devotedly attached to hereditary monarchy, he had no partiality for courtiers and ministers.
Heraldry knows nothing of his ancestors on either side; for like	His family pride was beyond that of a Talbot or a Howard. He knew

The Whig, &c.

mushrooms, they grew up in a night of rebellion, by plundering the loyal party, and agreeably to his stock had this miscellany of whig and publican his education.

He now perches up into *squire* and *worshipful*, and drinks as ———, swears as ———, and ——— as like a gentleman as is possible for a woodmonger's apprentice to attain to.

Sobriety and temperance he reckons among the number of the seven deadly sins.

His next affair is to keep that character (of gentleman) among the party by herding with all factions against the government, ecclesiastical and civil, and sets up for a drunken saint, though the immodish coxcomb knows religion is out of fashion. The surname of his sect is unknown in Alexander Ross' *View of Religions;* and though fools make up the guts of all

Macaulay's History of England.

the genealogies and coats of arms of all his neighbours, and could tell which of them had assumed supporters without any right, and which of them were so unfortunate as to be great grandsons of aldermen. .....Nor indeed was his soldiership justly a subject of derision. In every country there were elderly gentlemen who had seen service which was no child's play. One had been knighted by Charles the First, after the battle of Edgehill. Another still wore a patch over the scar which he had received at Naseby. A third had defended his old house till Fairfax had blown in the door with a petard. The presence of these old Cavaliers, with their old swords and holsters, and with their old stories about Goring and Lunsford, gave to the musters of militia an earnest and warlike aspect which would otherwise have been wanting. Even those country gentlemen who were too young to have themselves exchanged blows with the cuirassiers of the parliament had, from childhood, been surrounded by the traces of recent war, and fed with stories of the martial exploits of their fathers and uncles.

His ignorance and uncouthness, his low tastes and gross phrases, would, in our time, be considered as indicating a nature and a breeding thoroughly plebeian.

As the habit of drinking to excess was general in the class to which he belonged.

There was one institution, and one only, which they prized even more than hereditary monarchy; and that institution was the Church of England. Their love of the Church was not, indeed, the effect of study or meditation. Few among them could have given any reason, drawn from Scripture or ecclesiastical history, for adhering to her doctrines, her ritual, and herpolity;

The Whig, &c.

churches, yet his life is so scandalous he is not owned as a member of any.

His religion consists in railing against all governments but Oliver's: and cursing the Whore of Babylon worse than..... He would be a Presbyterian, but for fear of the close-stool of repentance; an Independent, but that he has neither gifts nor graces, and thinks himself not fool nor madman enough yet to be a Quaker: though he has the ill manners of 'em all, in bespattering the court, notwithstanding he lives on the alms-basket of the Treasury.

Though he gives his brother whigs their bellies full of bacon when they come to see him, he makes them so drunk before they go, that.....

He holds the scale of justice as blindly as the goddess that was born so: shews his wisdom most in

Macaulay's History of England.

nor were they, as a class, by any means strict observers of that code of morality which is common to all Christian sects. But the experience of many ages proves that men may be ready to fight to the death, and to persecute without pity, for a religion whose creed they do not understand, and whose precepts they habitually disobey.

His animosities were numerous and bitter. He hated Frenchmen and Italians, Scotchmen and Irishmen, Papists and Presbyterians, Independents and Baptists, Quakers and Jews. Towards London and Londoners he felt an aversion which more than once produced important political effects.

His table was loaded with coarse plenty; and guests were cordially welcomed to it. But, as the habit of drinking to excess was general in the class to which he belonged, and as his fortune did not enable him to intoxicate large assemblies daily with claret or canary, strong beer was the ordinary beverage. The quantity of beer consumed in those days was indeed enormous. For beer then was to the middle and lower classes, not only all that beer now is, but all that wine, tea, and ardent spirits now are. It was only at great houses, or on great occasions, that foreign drink was on the broad. The ladies of the house, whose business it had commonly been to cook the repast, retired as soon as the dishes had been devoured, and left the gentlemen to their ale and tobacco. The coarse jollity of the afternoon was often prolonged till the revellers were laid under the table.

He was a magistrate, and, as such, administered gratuitously to those who dwelt around him a rude patri-

The Whig, &c.	*Macaulay's History of England.*
his silence, and does his country best service in his absence. His severity is all against regretors and forstallers, and cares not if they raise the devil, so they dont raise the market.	archal justice, which, in spite of innumerable blunders and of occasional acts of tyranny, was yet better than no justice at all.
Being thus accomplished, he sets up for a worshipful *Shustice of the Peace*, and the 'tother thing too, *Quorum*, though he no more understands the meaning of it in English than if it was Arabic: to complete the character of a finished fop he also sets up for a wit by swearing with a *bonne grace*, telling bawdy stories, and convincing all the world that he has no sense, no learning, no religion, no good nature.	His language and pronunciation were such as we should now expect to hear only from the most ignorant clowns. His oaths, coarse jests, and scurrilous terms of abuse, were uttered with the broadest accent of his province. It was easy to discern, from the first words which he spoke, whether he came from Somersetshire or Yorkshire.
In the country he lives like a hawking, setting, hunting fool.	His chief pleasures were commonly derived from field sports and from an unrefined sensuality.

Hæc satis inter se conveniunt. It seems, therefore, after all, that Mr. Macaulay has described, not the Tory aristocracy, but a Whig squire (for he was a Whig, ἦν ἄρα) who had the misfortune to incur the displeasure of the writer above quoted. Unhappy Whig squire! it remains for him, like Ajax, to exclaim *Alas!* twice, δὶς αἰάζειν; and indeed his latter calamity is worse than the former. Not only is he kicked like a football by both sides, by a Tory pamphleteer and by a Whig historian, but the latter adds insult to injury by dressing him up in the guise of A TORY.

If any one wishes to see what the gentry of the time really were, let him consult the Diaries of Evelyn and Thoresby, and Sir R. Twysden's work, just published by the Camden Society.

In a passage however, of the same chapter, Mr. Macaulay does give an authority for an assertion respecting one of the gentry.

"Few knights of the shire," says he, "had libraries so good as may now perpetually be found in a servants' hall, or in the back parlour of a small shop-keeper. An esquire passed among his neighbours *for a great scholar*, if Hudibras and Baker's Chronicle, Tarlton's Jests and the Seven Champions of Christendom lay in his hall-window among the fishing-rods and fowling-pieces."—vol. I. p. 393.

At the end of the paragraph there is this note. "Cotton seems from his Angler to have found room for his whole library in his hall-window: and Cotton was a man of letters." If this be so, of course Mr. Macaulay's readers will naturally suppose that the stock of books must have been small indeed which was ordinarily possessed by "the gross, uneducated, untravelled country gentleman who was commonly a Tory." But how stands the case with regard to Mr. Macaulay's assertions respecting Cotton? The following passage in his Angler is, I suppose, the place he has in view: at least I am quite at a loss to know upon what other foundation his remark is built.

"*Piscator.* Sir, to make part of amends for sending you so uncivilly out alone this morning, I will myself dress you this dish of fish for your dinner; walk but into the parlour, you will find one book or other in the window to entertain you the while, and you shall have it presently."—Chap. x. p. 81, (Lond. 1774).

Now what hindered Cotton from having the greatest part of his library in his study, or in some other place beside the *parlour*-window? It is not the *hall*-window, moreover, as Mr. Macaulay has inadvertently written: for the *hall*-window contained the angling-rods (chap. III. p. 24); Mr. Macaulay's readers therefore would naturally suppose that Cotton's entire library, like those of the squires aforesaid, held a divided empire with the fishing apparatus in the window. But 'Cotton was a man of letters.' Certainly he was, and not only so, but the author of as many books as would fill a fair proportion of a window of a hall or even of a parlour. "Among his poems are divers Odes, Songs, and other love verses to ladies:" he also translated some considerable parts of Virgil: likewise Gerard's History of the Duke of Espernon in twelve books; also a translation of the Tragedy of Horace from the French of P. Corneille; also a version of a French novel entitled 'The Fair One of Tunis;' also a translation of the Commentaries of Blaise de Monluck, Mareschal of France. In the year 1675 appeared two books of his own: *The Planter's Manual* and *Burlesque upon Burlesque*, being some of Lucian's Dialogues put into English fustian, which passed through five editions at least. In 1685 he gave a new version of all Montaigne's Essays, in vols. 8vo., which passed through several editions. All these works of Cotton appeared before his *Angler*, (*Cotton's Life*). It is therefore not very probable that Cotton's whole library was contained in his hall-window.

With Tarlton's Jests our modern country gentlemen are perhaps not generally familiar: but if they possess another work, and will sometimes verify its references (when they are not too numerous to be recapitulated), they may enjoy a little quiet mirth occasionally.

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